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CONTENTS.

No. XLI.

PAGE

Notes on Plutarch's 'Ethica.' W. R. PATON 1

The New College MS in the 'Cum Principibus Philosophandum Esse.' W. R. P. 16

The British Museum Papyrus CXXVIII. WALTER LEAF 17

On some Fragments of Aeschylus, and on the Supplices. ROBINSON ELLIS 25

Two Notes on Sophocles. ROBINSON ELLIS 37

ΜΕΛΛΩ. ARTHUR PLATT 39

Catullus XI., Horace Odes II. VI. ARTHUR PLATT 46

Palaeographica III. T. W. ALLEN 48

Imperium Consulare and Proconsulare. E. G. HARDY 56

A Propertian use of *Vnus*. J. P. POSTGATE 66

The Four Gospels and the Four Elements. C. TAYLOR 69

Herodotus II 121 §§ 11—17. JOHN E. B. MAYOR 70

Note on the Philonean reading of two passages in the Timaeus, 38 B and 28 B. FRED. C. CONYBEARE 71

On Parmenides 52 (60). HENRY JACKSON 73

Various Conjectures II. WALTER HEADLAM 75

The Manuscripts of Propertius (*to be continued*). A. E. HOUSMAN . 101

No. XLII.

PAGE
The Manuscripts of Propertius (*continued*). A. E. Housman . . 161
The Shortening of Long Syllables in Plautus. W. M. Lindsay . 198
The Printed Editions of Nonius Marcellus. Henry Nettleship . 211
Notes on Nonius Book I. H. Nettleship 233
Notes in Latin Lexicography. H. Nettleship 235
Emendations of Catullus lxiii 54 and lxv 402. J. P. Postgate . 240
The Two Ways in Hermas and Xenophon. C. Taylor 243
Tertullian's Apology. John E. B. Mayor 259
Brit. Mus. Pap. cxxviii (Il. xxiii, xxiv). F. G. Kenyon . . . 296

THE JOURNAL

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NOTES ON PLUTARCH'S 'ETHICA.'

THE 'Ηθικά proper of Plutarch, i.e. the first 21 treatises in the so-called Corpus Planudeum of the '*Moralia*,' exist, as is well known, in a far greater number of Manuscripts than the remaining 48 treatises of the Corpus. They occur (1) as a whole and by themselves, e.g. in the two Moscow MSS 352 and 387 (see Diels *Doxographi*, p. 33: the former (352) also contains the *Placita*), and in Cod. Vindob. Philosoph. 73 (see Treu, *Zur Geschichte der Ueberlieferung von Plutarch's Moralia*, III. p. 1); (2) at the commencement of the Corpus Planudeum, the most important complete MSS of which are Par. Gr. 1672 and 1671 (see Treu, *Zur Gesch.* &c. I), Ambr. Gr. C. 126 inf. (described by Treu, *ibid.* III. p. 10) and Vatic. Gr. 139 (known to me from Treu's personal communication)[1]; (3) at the commencement of several other distinct collections of Plutarch's writings, of which the most noteworthy is that represented to us by Ambros. C. 195 inf. and the New College MS. Here No. 55 of the Corpus Planudeum '*An Virtus doceri possit*' is inserted between nos. 6 and 7 (see for the Ambrosian codex Treu, *Zur Gesch.* &c. III. p. 15: the New Coll. codex seems to be not a copy from it but a much later copy from the same source).

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[1] Used by Sintenis in the lives of Galba and Otho.

Representative of other distinct collections of more or less extent, opening with these ἠθικοὶ λόγοι, are Paris 1955 (Wyttenbach's C), Harleianus 5612 (see *Class. Rev.* III. p. 443), and Paris 1956 (Wyttenbach's D). As this MS and Cod. Vindob. 73 are both at least as early as the XIIth century and may belong to the XIth, the 'Ηθικά already at this date formed a distinct Corpus. Some or all of them also occur intermixed with other writings in a considerable number of codices, and other MSS contain a selection from the 'Ηθικά alone. It is or was Treu's opinion (and he is the best authority on the subject) that for the text of the 'Ηθικά both the Planudean Corpus and the Ambrosian Corpus may be dispensed with (*Zur Gesch.* &c. III. p. 28). This, I have no doubt, will prove to be the case[1], but at least they should not be dispensed with in favour of Paris 1956 (D), as has been done by the last editor of the *Moralia*, Bernardakis. D belongs to a class of very audaciously interpolated Manuscripts of which the (lost?) Codex Xylandri and Venetus 511 seem also to be examples (see Wyttenbach's critical note to 167 A)[2]. D is an early MS and has its value in so far as it is a good representative of the text where not interpolated, but this text does not very essentially differ from the text of the Corpus of the Ἠθικά as it reaches us through a different channel in the two large collections, the Ambrosian and Planudean Corpora. The acceptance by Bernardakis of D's interpolations 'en masse' has of course involved his attaching a fictitious value to its genuine variants. I have collated the New Coll. MS (representative, as I have said, of the Ambrosian) in some of the treatises, and in one or two cases it gives us a text free from those corruptions which have caused the interpolations of D (see below note on *De Adul. et Am.* XI. 55 *f*); but all the more serious corruptions which D professes to correct are common to the tradition of the two Corpora, and, as far as I can make out, to all other traditions. A future editor of the 'Ethica' will not be able to dispense with D, but he will only use it to reconstitute that Vulgate text on which its interpolations are grafted. I will here give one striking instance illustrating the merits of D; of its demerits we shall see only too much. It is a fragment of Sappho (fr. 27 Bergk) in the *De cohibenda Ira*, p. 456 *e*. The Vulgate is *οὔσης οὐκ ἄμφω παραινεῖν δυναμένης ἐν στήθεσιν ὀργῆς πεφύλαχθαι γλῶσσαν μαψυλάκταν.* D and the Codex Xylandri give *ὡς ἡ Σαπφὼ παραινεῖ σκιδναμένης ἐν στήθεσιν ὀργῆς πεφ. γλ. μαψυλάκαν.* This sounds right enough, but the reading of Coll. Nov. shows that *σκιδναμένης* is a correction of something which came nearer the original than the Vulgate *δυναμένης*. Coll. Nov. gives *οὔσης ἄμφω παραινεῖν δυναμένοις ἐν στήθεσιν πεφύλαχθαι γλ. μαψυλάκαν.* We should restore to Sappho *σκυσδομένοις ἐν στήθεσιν* (vel *στήθεσσι*) *πεφύλαχθαι γλῶσσαν μαψυλάκαν* (I do not attempt to restore to metrical form; the fragment as it stood before could only be made metrical by transpositions). *ὀργῆς* is an interpolation older than D. We can trace the stages of corruption, *παραινεῖ σκυσδομένοις* corrupted to *παραινεῖ σκιδναμένοις*—this corrupted in one instance to *παραινεῖν δυναμένοις*, corrected in another to *παραινεῖ σκιδναμένης ὀργῆς*. How the Vulgate *παραινεῖν δυναμένης ὀργῆς* arose I would not venture to suggest without further information as to the readings of the MSS. This passage as a whole shows D at its best.

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[1] It is impossible for scholars to form from published sources any independent judgment on this point. On the one hand the Planudean Corpus is only represented in our texts by Paris 1672 and 1671, whereas the two Ambrosian and Vatican codices are independent of, and very possibly better than, these, and for the Ambrosian Corpus we have only the imperfect collation of Coll. Nov. which was at Wyttenbach's disposal; on the other hand the Moscuenses and Harleiensis are known to us only from the collations made for Wyttenbach (if we except Matthaei's full collations of the Moscuenses in one or two treatises); and we are in entire ignorance as to the readings of the very early and important Vienna MS (73) except in so far as they reach us through Hercher's and Bernardakis' collations of the Riccardianus which is a copy of it. If Mr Bernardakis is to make the critical edition which he promises us of real value, he will have to consult all these MSS for the 'Ηθικά. I find recently, on collating parts of Harleianus 5612, that it corresponds very closely with Mosc. 387.

[2] I am here speaking of the 'Ethica' only. In the *De Ei Delphico* and *De Defectu Oraculorum* D is not interpolated. It is our oldest and best authority for the text of these treatises, but even here Bernardakis has relied too exclusively on it and treats it with more deference than it deserves; e.g. p. 392 *d* ὁ τεχθὲς is the reading of the Corpus Planudeum; D gives ὁ τεχθεὶς. The editor correctly writing ὁ τ' ἐχθὲς gives ὁ τεχθείς as the MS reading.

It was my intention to go through the whole of the 'Ethica' and show that the interpolations of D have not only vitiated Hercher's and Bernardakis' texts, but have seriously affected the texts of Wyttenbach and Dübner, both of whom have, however, fought very shy of them; but the task of demonstrating the untrustworthiness of this MS has already been performed by a Danish scholar, Mr Larsen, in his *Studia critica in Plutarchi Moralia* (Copenhagen, 1889). At present, I would offer some remarks and suggestions relating to two of the treatises with which he there deals, the *De Adulatore et Amico* and the *De Amicorum Multitudine.* Of these two, the latter is in much the most unsatisfactory condition. It lent itself more readily to corruption, as it is obviously an immature work, in which the argument does not glide smoothly but takes rather awkward turns and jumps, perhaps necessitated by considerations of space or time. There are, however, no actual hiatus in the argument which would warrant us in supposing that an epitomator had been at work.

De Adulatore et Amico.

Ch. I. 49 *e—f*: ἀλλ' αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο τὸ καλὸν καὶ τὸ σεμνὸν αὐτῆς ἡδὺ καὶ ποθούμενόν ἐστί. The article τὸ offends here and has been excluded by Vulcobius. The context shows that we should restore ὠφέλιμον for τὸ σεμνόν. The corruption is due to the occurrence of σεμνὸν immediately above and the similarity of uncials ωφελιμον—τοcεμνον. Above I cannot understand why Reiske's τὸ φίλον for τὸν φίλον has not been accepted.

Ch. V. 51 *b*: ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ μάλιστα φιλίας ἀρχὴν συνέχον καὶ συνιστᾶνον ὁμοιότης ἐστίν. Is there any MS authority for banishing καὶ συνιστᾶνον with Hercher and Bernardakis? It should seemingly be corrected to συνιστὰν. It is by no means equivalent to συνέχον, but a much stronger word συνέχον καὶ συνιστὰν might be rendered 'holding together and solidifying.'

Ch. V. 51 *d*: τῶν θηρίων ὅσα πεφυκότα τὴν χρόαν τρέπεσθαι συναφομοιοῦται τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις ὑλήμασι καὶ χωρίοις. D for *ὑλήμασι* substitutes *χρώμασι* which makes absolute nonsense; for *χρώμασι καὶ χωρίοις* could only mean 'colours and colourless spaces,' and how can a beast, by change of colour, imitate a colourless background? it could only do so by making itself absolutely invisible. *ὑλήμασι καὶ χωρίοις* is correct and apt. The beasts imitate the colours of the objects (leaves &c.) and spaces (the sky) behind them.

Ch. VI. 51 *e*: *εἰδὼς οὖν ὁ κόλαξ ὅτι τῷ χαίρειν τοῖς ὁμοίοις καὶ τὸ χρῆσθαι καὶ ἀγαπᾶν ἔμφυτόν ἐστι ταύτῃ πρῶτον ἐπιχειρεῖ πλησιάζειν ἑκάστῳ καὶ παρασκηνοῦν, ὥσπερ ἔν τισι νομαῖς θηρίῳ, τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασι—παραβάλλων καὶ προσαναχρωννύμενος.* The MSS give *τὸ χαίρειν*: the alteration of *τὸ* to *τῷ* is necessary, and I have made it. Larsen correctly restores *θηρίῳ* for *θηρίου*, and for *ἔν τισι νομαῖς* proposes *ἐν ταῖς νομαῖς*, but 'in pascuis' or 'in pascuis ejus' seems to me here to have very little, if any, meaning. We require some phrase which, in the case of the beast, corresponds to the *τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασι κτλ.* in the case of the man. The most probable change which I can think of is *ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ συννέμεσθαι θηρίῳ.* The cause of the corruption is the loss of *θαι* before *θη.* *συννόμαις* was then written for the unintelligible *συννέμες* and *τῷ συννόμαις* got corrected to *τισι νομαῖς.*

Ch. VII. 52 *f*: *πλείστοις ὁμιλήσαντες ἀνθρώποις καὶ πόλεσι καὶ βίοις τὸ προσῆκον ἦθος αὐτοῖς πανταχοῦ καὶ στολῇ καὶ διαίτῃ καὶ λόγῳ καὶ βίῳ διεφύλαττον.* Here *βίῳ* 'manner of life' cannot stand, as the *στολὴ, διαίτη* &c. are parts of the *βίος.* We should at least require *καὶ τῷ σύμπαντι βίῳ* or *καὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ βίῳ.* It is more probable that *βίῳ* should be replaced by some other word such as *πράξει* or *ἔργῳ, καὶ βίῳ* being merely an echo of *καὶ βίοις* above.

Ch. IX. 53 *f*: *ὁ δὲ βουλόμενος εἶναι καὶ δοκεῖν ὁμοίως ἡδὺς ἅμα καὶ πιστὸς [τοῖς χείροσι μᾶλλον ὑποκρίνεται χαίρειν] ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ σφόδρα φιλεῖν οὐδὲ τὰ φαῦλα δυσχεραίνων κτλ.* The words in brackets are the interpolation of D and need not be considered. It is evident that there is no lacuna between *πιστὸς* and *ὡς* which explains it, and the remedy must lie in the emendation of the preceding words. Far the simplest change is to write *ὅμοιος* for *ὁμοίως*. "The man who is trying to be and seem like his model, is agreeable to the model and at the same time commands his confidence." This emendation has, I find, already been proposed by Schellens, *De hiatu in Plutarchi Moralibus* (1864), p. 38.

Ch. X. 54 *c*: *ὑφίεται τῇ ὁμοιότητι τῆς ἰσότητος.* I do not think that the phrase is impossible, as Larsen argues. *τῇ ὁμοιότητι* does not depend on *ὑφίεται*, but is equivalent to *τῷ ὁμοιοῦσθαι* or *τῷ ὅμοιος εἶναι.* "It is by his very resemblance, that he renounces his claim to equality." Larsen's suggested transposition of *ὑφίεται* and *τῇ ὁμοιότητι* gives a very weak sentence.

Ch. XI. 55 *b*: *ἐφ' ἓν δι' ἀμφοτέρων ἐπὶ τὸ συμφέρον ἄγων τὸν θεραπευόμενον.* I cannot understand why *ἐπὶ* should here remain.

Ch. XII. 55 *f*: *ἂν καὶ αὐτοὶ ταὐτὰ βουλόμενοι καὶ ζηλοῦντες μὴ μόνους ἡμᾶς ἀλλὰ πάντας ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁμοίοις [ἐπαινῶσιν, ἂν] μὴ νῦν μὲν ταῦτα νῦν δὲ τἀναντία πράττοντες καὶ λέγοντες [φαίνοιντο].* The words in brackets are the interpolations of D (with the exception of *ἂν* before *μὴ νῦν μὲν*, which is, as we shall see, right, but may or may not have been found in his text by the interpolator). The remainder is the Vulgate text on which these interpolations are grafted. This is a very crucial instance of interpolation in D and sufficient in itself to discredit that MS. The passage is also of importance for the value of the New Coll. MS and its fellow or original, the Ambrosian. The correct text is given in Coll. Nov. and doubtless also in the Ambrosian. It is *ἂν καὶ αὐτοὶ ταὐτὰ βουλόμενοι καὶ ζηλοῦντες, ἂν μὴ μόνους ἡμᾶς ἀλλὰ πάντας ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁμοίοις, ἂν μὴ νῦν μὲν ταῦτα νῦν δὲ τἀναντία πράττοντας καὶ λέγοντας.* It will be seen what nonsense D has made of the passage.

Ch. XII. 56 *e*: *καὶ κρίνων καὶ τυμπάνων ἐγχαράξεις.* *καὶ κρίνων* is given by Coll. Nov. and the Aldine and it would seem by F, Harl. 5660 and the Vossianus (at least I gather so much from Wyttenbach). It is absent from all the other MSS of which he had collations. As it is unintelligible, it is not likely to be an interpolation and should be retained or reformed, not excluded. There is no doubt that the juxtaposition of κρίνα (lilies) and τύμπανα in the Epigram of Dioscorides (*Anth. Pal.* VII. 485) is a mere accidental coincidence, and there can be equally little doubt that κρίνων here, associated as it is with τυμπάνων, should be corrected to κέρνων. (Cp. ἐκ τυμπάνου ἔφαγον, ἐκ κυμβάλου ἔπιον, ἐκερνοφόρησα in Clem. Alex. p. 14 and Schol. in Plat. Gorg. 238, 46 (of course, as Lobeck has shown, referring not to the Eleusinian mysteries but to those of Rhea; see Hesychius s.v. κέρνεα). But we have not got much further; for a κέρνος was not an instrument but a vessel of some kind, and we cannot have κέρνων ἐγχαράξεις. I see no way out of the difficulty but to suppose a lacuna, e.g. καὶ κέρνων <περιπομπὰς, καὶ κρούσεις κυμβάλων> καὶ τυμπάνων ἐγχαράξεις.

Ibid.: ἤδη for ἤθη is given by Coll. Nov. τηλικαῦτα for τηνικαῦτα may or may not have MS authority, but there is no doubt that it is right: we require, however, τὰ Ῥωμαίων ὄντ' ἤδη τηλικαῦτα.

Ch. XIII. 57 *b*: ἀλλοτρίῳ προσχρώμενος προσώπῳ. This is no doubt correct, but the reading of Coll. Nov. προσχώμενος is noteworthy, suggesting, as it does, ἀλλότριον προισχόμενος πρόσωπον.

Ch. XIV. 57 *e*: ἂν δ' ᾖ τις οἰόμενος πολὺν ἔχειν νοῦν καὶ βουλόμενος αὐστηρὸς εἶναι—ἀεὶ προβάλληται. Coll. Nov. has δή τις. καὶ must couple οἰόμενος and βουλόμενος, not ᾖ and προβάλληται. We should, I think, read ἂν δέ τις.

Ch. XVI. 59 *a*: see Larsen p. 63. I would suggest that the passage should be written thus:—εἴ τις ἀγρὸν ἔμελλεν ἐγκωμιάζων εὔφορον ποιεῖν καὶ εὔκαρπον, οὐκ ἂν δὴ ἁμαρτάνειν ἐδόκει τοῦτο ποιῶν μᾶλλον ἢ σκάπτων καὶ πράγματα ἔχων: οὐ τοίνυν οὐδ' ἄνθρωπον ἄτοπος ἂν εἴη ἐπαινῶν, εἰ τοῖς <ἐπαινοῦσιν ὁ> ἐπαινούμενος ὠφέλιμός ἐστι καὶ πάμφορος. I substitute τις for τὸν, δὴ for δὲ (Coll. Nov.), ἄνθρωπον for ἄνθρωπος, and suppose that ἐπαινοῦσιν ὁ has dropped out before ἐπαινούμενος, which has, of course, in consequence been changed to ἐπαινουμένοις. τις supplies the subject for ἔμελλεν and for ἂν εἴη. We are relieved from the necessity of correcting πάμφορος, a word inapplicable to the praiser or his praise, but very much to the point when applied to the object of praise. Finally, only by this means does Plutarch's criticism of Bion's cynical remark become intelligible. Mr Larsen had proposed a different restoration, but I am pleased to learn from him that he approves of that here proposed, with the insignificant exception of the δὴ, which he thinks objectionable owing to the hiatus. As however the passage is a quotation I have not withdrawn the δὴ, but of course it is not required.

Ch. XVII. 60 *a*: *ὥσπερ οὖν εἴ τις ἀνθρώπου φύματα καὶ σύριγγας ἔχοντος κτλ.* *ἀνθρώπου* is not given by Coll. Nov. and may well depart.

Ch. XVIII. 60 *c*. Coll. Nov. gives, for *παρρησιάζεσθαι*, *παρρησίᾳ χρῆσθαι*, and omits *φανερῶς* below—in both cases, as I think, rightly.

Ch. XIX. 60 *d*: *τῶν πλουσίων τινὰ ἀνελευθερώτατον καὶ φιλαργυρώτατον Ἀθήνησιν.* Should we not restore *τῶν πλουσίων τὸν ἀνελευθερώτατον καὶ φιλαργυρώτατον τῶν Ἀθήνησιν*? [*τινὰ τὸν* Hercher.]

Ch. XIX. 60 *f*: '*οὐ γὰρ αἰσθάνῃ σαυτοῦ; καὶ σὺ τούτων αἴτιος κτλ.*' The words should, I think, be thus written: *γὰρ* is quite graphic and appropriate, when used thus interrogatively in a lively protest. There is no reason for quarrelling with it as we might do (like Larsen), if we put no mark of interrogation. Below, on the contrary (p. 61 *a*), in *ἡ μὲν γὰρ γυνὴ*, *γὰρ* is probably due to the interpolator of D.

Ch. XXI. 62 *c*: *καὶ τὸ οἰκεῖον ἔνδοθεν δοὺς ταῖς ὄψεσι.* *δοὺς* here is given by Hercher and Bernardakis from some MS, and an aorist is required. The Vulgate is *διδοὺς*. Coll. Nov. gives *διαδιδούς*, from which we get the certain restoration *διαδοὺς*.

Ch. XXII. 62 *e*: *Ἔστι μὲν οὖν καὶ ταῦτα δηλώματα τοῖς νοῦν ἔχουσιν οὐκ ἀληθινῆς φιλίας οὐδὲ σώφρονος ἀλλ' ἑταιρούσης καὶ περιπλεκομένης ἑτοιμότερον τῶν δεομένων.* For *τῶν δεομένων* I should suggest *τὸν δυνάμενον*, i.e. 'potentem.' This at least gives the right sense: see Larsen's note on the passage.

Ch. XXII. 63 *c*: *καὶ συναισθανόμενον, νὴ Δία, καὶ συνοργιζόμενον.* D's *συνηδόμενον* for *συναισθανόμενον* is evidently a mere interpolation. There is a very large number of words which would be quite appropriate here and might be restored with some approach to plausibility if we regard *συναισθανόμενον* as a corruption in the uncial text, e.g. *συνακουόμενον*, *συνεκκαιόμενον*.

Ibid. 63 *e*: *ἦν δὲ ὁ ἔλεγχος ἐν ἐκείνῳ*, the Vulgate is right, and D's *γὰρ* (given by Hercher and Bernardakis) is wrong. The clause completes the narrative and makes it intelligible; if we read *γὰρ* it must refer to *ἐπέκρυψεν* and give the reason for Lakydes' action, but *ἦν γὰρ τὸ ἔλεγχος ἐν ἐκείνῳ* would certainly imply that Lakydes knew the importance of the ring from the outset, and this spoils the narrative.

Ch. XXIII. 64 *d*: I should re-write this passage thus: *οὕτως ὁ φίλος ἔσται τοιοῦτος < οἷος >, ἂν μέν τις ἢ δαπάνην ἢ κίνδυνον ἢ πόνον ἔχουσα χρεία καταλαμβάνῃ, πρῶτος ἀξιοῦν καλεῖσθαι, καὶ μετέχειν ἀπροφασίστως καὶ προθύμως, ὅπου δὲ πρόσεστιν αἰσχύνη μόνον, ἐᾶν καὶ φείδεσθαι παραιτούμενος.* *ἔσται* is Larsen's very neat substitute for *καὶ* of the MSS. *ἀξιοῦν* is my own substitute for *ἀξιῶν*. It does not seem to have been observed that *ἀξιῶν μετέχειν ἀπροφασίστως καὶ προθύμως* is an exceedingly awkward, if not unintelligible, phrase. We can say that a man bears another's burden *ἀπροφασίστως καὶ προθύμως*, but not that he asserts his right to bear it or thinks he should be allowed to bear it *ἀπροφασίστως καὶ προθύμως*. *παραιτούμενος*, as I read the sentence, means 'with apologies.'

Ch. XXIV. 65 *b*: *ὁ δὲ ψευδὴς καὶ νόθος καὶ ὑπόχαλκος ὤν*. *ὤν*, given by D alone, is again an interpolation and ruins the sentence, for we should, of course, understand *φίλος* here.

Ch. XXIV. 65 *e*: *τῶν μὲν γὰρ τόπων τὰ ὑψηλὰ δυσπρόσοδα —γίνεται τοῖς ἐπιβουλεύουσι τὸ δ' ἐν ψυχῇ νοῦν ἐχούσῃ δι' εὐτυχίαν ἢ δι' εὐφυΐαν ὕψος—τοῖς μικροῖς καὶ ταπεινοῖς μάλιστα βάσιμόν ἐστιν.* This, the reading of Coll. Nov., is, I have no doubt, right. The Vulgate is *νοῦν οὐκ ἐχούσῃ*. Plutarch has been citing the examples of Alexander and Demetrius. *τόποι* 'strong places' are compared and contrasted with *ψυχαὶ νοῦν ἔχουσαι* 'souls fortified by the presence of *νοῦς*.'

Ch. XXV. ad fin. 66 *e*: The reading of the Moscow MSS, Venet. 250, and Coll. Nov. is *αὐτὸς ἔοικεν ὁ λόγος* [*ὁ*] *τὸ ἐφεξῆς* ἀπαιτῶν ὑποτιθέναι τῇ κορωνίδι τοῦ συγγράμματος, and this gives a good sense. 'Our argument itself, demanding, as it does, the examination of what is meant by παρρησία which follows, *suggests this* to our peroration as a suitable topic.' The remainder of this treatise—its κορωνὶς—is a dissertation Περὶ Παρρησίας, which might have formed a separate work. Every σύγγραμμα necessarily had a κορωνίς, so we need not (with Larsen) make a difficulty about the mention of the κορωνὶς as an already existing thing. It is, however, necessary, if we render the passage so, to omit the ὁ before τὸ. The reading peculiar to D, which will be found in Hercher's and Bernardakis' editions, is certainly more elegant and simple, and probably correct; but the Vulgate (omitting ὁ) is possible, and perhaps, considering the credentials of D, preferable.

Ch. XXVII. 68 *b*: αἰτίαν φιλίας ὥσπερ σόφισμα λοιδορίας προσφερόμενος. 'Nil in libris subsidii,' says Wyttenbach, who offers an explanation of the passage in his Annotations. Paris 1211 has, however, προφερόμενος, which Reiske had suggested, and Wyttenbach (in his critical notes) approved (Coll. Nov. has ἐπιφερόμενος). But, even with προφερόμενος 'making a pretext of,' what does the whole mean, and what is a σόφισμα λοιδορίας? It can only mean 'a dodge for introducing abuse,' and how can anyone be said to act under cover of the privilege of remonstrance allowed by friendship (αἰτία φιλίας), as if this privilege were a σόφισμα λοιδορίας? I should write the passage as follows:—ἐλευθέρᾳ μὲν οὐδέποτε φωνῇ χρησάμενοι, ἐν δὲ τοῖς συμποσίοις καὶ τοῖς περιπάτοις ἑκάστοτε, πρὸς οὐδ' ἡντινοῦν σπουδὴν 'ἀλλ' ὅτι οἱ εἴσαιτο γελοίϊον Ἀργείοισιν,' αἰτίαν φιλίας, ὥσπερ σόφισμα, λοιδορίᾳ συμπροσφέροντες. This is probably not right, but the context below requires something of the kind. The sense at least is good. An αἰτία, a legitimate remonstrance, does not, like a σόφισμα, require abuse to support it. We might write συμφύροντες.

Ch. XXXII. 71 *d*: Ἀριστοφάνης δέ τινι τὸν Κλέωνα τοῦτ' ἐγκαλεῖν φησιν ὅτι 'ξένων παρόντων τὴν πόλιν κακῶς λέγει' καὶ παροξύνει τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. Larsen corrects τοὺς Ἀθηναίους to τούτους Ἀθηναίοις. It might be simpler to read τούτους, simply regarding τοὺς Ἀθηναίους as an adscript. It is necessary to substitute, as I have done, δέ τινι for δὲ καὶ, if the whole is to be grammatical.

Ch. XXXV. 73 *b*: οὐκ ἔστι σοι...περὶ παρωνυχίας ὁ λόγος. Here ὁ λόγος is given by D alone: on p. 43 *b* several MSS including Coll. Nov. omit it. It is not required. See Sauppe, *Emendationes Plutarcheae* (Göttingen, 1884) p. 5.

Ch. XXXVI. 73 *e*: αὐτοὺς ἐνδιδόναι μετριωτέραν. αὐτὸν would be preferable.

Ch. XXXVI. 74 *a*: ἡ δὲ πρακτικὴ τὸ ἐναντίον. ταρακτικὴ proposed by Larsen seems to me too strong a word. I do not know why προακτικὴ, which gives the right meaning, has not been proposed.

De Amicorum Multitudine.

Ch. II. 93 *c*: αἴτιον δὲ μετὰ πολλῶν ἄλλων οὐκ ἥκιστά γ᾽ εἰς φιλίας κτῆσιν ἡ τῆς πολυφιλίας ὄρεξις: the last word of the preceding sentence is σκιάν. Larsen supposes a lacuna after ἥκιστα, and if we do not correct αἴτιον or εἰς, this is the only way of getting things right. One other way is to change αἴτιον and γ᾽ εἰς to ἐναντίον and πρὸς, as has been done. Is there any means of retaining γ᾽ εἰς and finding a plausible substitute for αἴτιον? I should suggest ἀναπηροῖ for αἴτιον. We may discount the ΑΝ as having fallen out owing to that preceding it: we are left with ΑΠΗΡΟΙ. To suppose that this was corrupted to αἴτιον is perhaps unjustifiable, but, on the other hand, ἀναπηροῖ supplies a link in thought with what precedes which is much required.

Ch. II. 93 *e*: καὶ προσαγορεύειν ἑταῖρον καὶ ἑταῖρον ὡς ἕτερον. This is the reading of most MSS. A C D E omit καὶ ἑταῖρον (according to Wyttenbach). It is difficult to account for it, as Larsen says. But I suspect that we should read ἔτην καὶ ἑταῖρον, and that Plutarch was referring to ὦ τάν.

Ch. II. 93 *f*: οὕτω τῷ φιλεῖν ἡ ψυχὴ σφόδρα πέφυκεν, εἰς πολλοὺς δὲ μεριζομένη ἐξαμαυροῦται. This is the Vulgate reading. The reading of D and the Cod. Xylandri is οὕτω τὸ φιλεῖν ἐν ψυχῇ σφοδρὸν πεφυκὸς εἰς πολλοὺς μεριζόμενον ἐξαμαυροῦται. One of these readings is corrected from the other: one cannot have grown from the other by any natural *process* of corruption, but only be deliberate alteration of the construction. Such deliberate alteration of cases is quite common in those MSS which are not, properly speaking, interpolated, but not usually on such a large scale as here. It would however certainly seem that here the Vulgate reading is an awkward accommodation of the whole to ἡ ψυχὴ (misread for ἐν ψυχῇ). If we had the Vulgate text alone to deal with, we should have to suppose a lacuna, e.g. οὕτω <πρὸς αὐτὸ μὲν> τὸ φιλεῖν ἡ ψυχὴ σφοδρὰ πέφυκεν κτλ., and, even then, we could scarcely say that ἡ ψυχὴ ἐξαμαυροῦται, not to speak of the hiatus.

Ch. III. 94 *b*: A very difficult passage here presents itself. σκεπτέον πρῶτον εἰ δυνατόν ἐστιν κτλ. is obviously nonsense. Was Plutarch going to consider at length the pros and cons of the possibility of selecting, at short notice, suitable crews for ships, tutors for boys, &c. and has he done so? It is necessary to write out the passage at length. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἡ ἀληθινὴ φιλία τρία ζητεῖ μάλιστα, τὴν ἀρετὴν ὡς καλόν, καὶ τὴν συνήθειαν ὡς ἡδύ, καὶ τὴν χρείαν ὡς ἀναγκαῖον, δεῖ γὰρ ἀποδέξασθαι κρίνοντα, καὶ χαίρειν συνόντα, καὶ χρῆσθαι δεόμενον, ἅπαντα πρὸς τὴν πολυφιλίαν ὑπεναντιοῦται καὶ μάλιστα πρὸς τὸ κυριώτατον ἡ κρίσις· ποῖα δὲ πρῶτον εἰ δυνατόν ἐστιν ἐν βράχει χρόνῳ δοκιμάσαι χορευτὰς—μήτιγε φίλους πολλούς. This is the Vulgate reading, with two exceptions, ἐπεὶ δ' ἡ at the beginning, a correction of Vulcobius for ἐπειδὴ, and δοκιμάσαι given by A (?) and D for δοκιμασία of C, E, Mosc. 1 and 2 (Coll. Nov. has σημασία not δοκιμάσαι as Wytt. states). These two variants or corrections may be regarded as certain. Coll. Nov. omits ἃ before πάντα; and it and Mosc. 2 have ποῖαν for ποῖα. Now to come to the variants of D.—They are πως for πρὸς and σκεπτέον δὴ for ποῖα δὲ. It is evident that D's σκεπτέον δὴ is a mere makeshift, and I do not see any force in its πως.

The first thing that strikes us in this sentence is the confusedness of the argument as it stands. The δεῖ γὰρ cannot possibly be right, for the clause introduced by γὰρ does not on the one hand explain the preceding clause which wants no explanation, and, on the other hand, it states the principle on which the argument which follows is divided: *πολυφιλία* is successively considered in regard to its effect on *τὸ κρίνειν* (94 *c*—*f*), *τὸ συνεῖναι* (94 *f*—95 *b*), *τὸ δεῖσθαι* (95 *b* sq.).

Therefore *γὰρ* cannot possibly be right and must be replaced by another particle. In the next place, the sense requires not *ἅπαντα* (i.e. *τὸ κρίνειν*, *τὸ συνεῖναι*, &c.) *πρὸς τὴν πολυφιλίαν ὑπεναντιοῦται*, but *πρὸς ἅπαντα ἡ πολυφιλία ὑπεναντιοῦται*. Therefore the *πως* of D is here wrong and the corruption lies much deeper. Finally, the *ποῖα δὲ πρῶτον εἰ δυνατόν ἐστιν* is evidently also deeply corrupt, for we are now left with *ἡ κρίσις* hanging in the air before these words. I should re-write the whole something as follows (simply as a suggestion). *Ἐπεὶ δ' ἡ ἀληθινὴ φιλία τρία ζητεῖ μάλιστα, τὴν ἀρετὴν ὡς καλόν, καὶ τὴν συνήθειαν ὡς ἡδύ, καὶ τὴν χρείαν ὡς ἀναγκαῖον, δεῖ δ' ἀποδέξασθαι κρίνοντα, καὶ χαίρειν συνόντα καὶ χρῆσθαι δεόμενον, πρὸς ἅπαντα <φημὶ ταῦτα> τὴν πολυφιλίαν ὑπεναντιοῦσθαι καὶ μάλιστα πρὸς τὸ κυριώτατον. ἐπεὶ κρίσις ποῖα δὴ γένοιτ' ἂν εἰ δέοι τὸν αὐτὸν ἐν βραχεῖ χρόνῳ δοκιμάσαι κτλ.*

Ch. IV. 94 *e*: *οὕτως ἀεὶ μὴ τὸν εὐχερῶς περιπλεκόμενον ποιεῖσθαι συνήθη καλόν.* This is of course impossible, and I cannot tell why Bernardakis has not followed Hercher in changing *ἀεὶ* to *δεῖ* and excluding *καλὸν* as an adscript. Coll. Nov., however, omits not *καλὸν* but *ποιεῖσθαι*, which suggests the correction of *καλὸν* to *καλεῖν*, and this is possible.

Ch. V. 94 *f*: *οὕτω φιλίαν καὶ συνήθειαν σώζειν παραλαβὼν ἐν πολλῷ κριθεῖσαν.* We have only to correct *σώζειν* to *σώσεις*. The interpolation of D and Cod. Xylandri *δεῖ—σώζειν παραλαβόντας* ruins the sense, for not "servanda est simul acceperis," but "servabis, si acceperis" is required.

Ch. V. 95 *a*: *τοὐναντίον οὖν ἔοικεν ἡ καλουμένη πολυφιλία <τῇ φιλίᾳ> ποιεῖν.* *τῇ φιλίᾳ* is absolutely required, and there can be little doubt that it has fallen out after *πολυφιλία*. *καλουμένη* is quite meaningless. I do not feel sure that *ἀνακαλουμένη* (passive) = 'hailed as welcome' or 'much invoked' is possible.

Ch. VI. 95 *e*: ἀλλ' οἱ πολλοὶ τὰς πολυφιλίας ἃ δύνανται παρέχειν μόνον ὡς ἔοικε σκοποῦσιν ἃ δ' ἐμπονεῖν παρορῶσι. There is no particular reason why Plutarch should not have written ἃ δ' ἐμπονεῖν ἔχουσι παρορῶσι. He does not use the verb elsewhere, but ἐν might be added to any verb of action in this sense. At all events ἀνταπαιτοῦσι which D gives for ἐμπονεῖν is certainly an interpolation.

Ch. VII. 96 *a*—*b*: I will write out this passage, not exactly as it stands in any MS or edition, but as I think it should be—ἐκεῖνο δὲ μᾶλλον ἡμῖν παραίνει τὸ Πυθαγορικὸν "μὴ πολλοῖς ἐμβάλλειν δεξιάν," τουτέστι μὴ πολλοὺς ποιεῖσθαι φίλους μηδὲ πολύκοινον μηδὲ πάνδημον ἀσπάζεσθαι φιλίαν καὶ προσηγορίαν ἂν ᾖ μετὰ πολλῶν παθῶν εἰσιοῦσα· ὧν τὸ μὲν συναγωνιᾶν καὶ συνάχθεσθαι καὶ συμπονεῖν καὶ συγκινδυνεύειν οὐ πάνυ δύσοιστον τοῖς ἐλευθέροις καὶ γενναίοις ἐστί, τὸ δὲ τοῦ σοφιστοῦ Χίλωνος ἀληθές, ὃς πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα μηδέν' ἔχειν ἐχθρόν, 'ἔοικας' ἔφη 'σὺ μηδὲ φίλον ἔχειν'· αἱ γὰρ ἔχθραι ταῖς φιλίαις εὐθὺς ἐπακολουθοῦσι καὶ συμπλέκονται. οὔκουν ἔστι φίλον <τὸ> μὴ συναδικεῖσθαι μηδὲ συναδοξεῖν μηδὲ συναπεχθάνεσθαι. As regards the readings—I have, in the main, adhered to the Vulgate text. προσηγορίαν ἂν ᾖ I derive from the reading of C πρὸς ἣν τι ἂν ᾖ. D, E and Coll. Nov. have πρὸς ἐναντίην ἣ: other MSS have corrected this again to πρὸς ἐναντίον ἥ. ὅς is peculiar to D (it may be an interpolation and is not quite necessary). I have written οὔκουν for οὐκ and dubiously inserted τὸ after φίλον, as the grammar appears to me to require it.

The whole is somewhat irregular in construction, but the sense is quite clear. Of the πολλὰ πάθη, which must accompany the admission of many friends, τὸ μὲν συναγωνιᾶν κτλ. are not altogether insupportable: then should strictly have followed τὸ δὲ συναδικεῖσθαι καὶ συναδοξεῖν καὶ συναπεχθάνεσθαι "are altogether insupportable"; but Plutarch first turns aside to impress upon us that these things are also necessary accompaniments of friendship. For προσηγορίαν cp. p. 709 *a*. The liberties taken by D consist of the omission of οὐ before πάνυ and the insertion of ἐπείπερ before οὐκ ἔστι. They deprive the passage of all meaning. D also wrongly corrects *σοφιστοῦ* to *σοφοῦ*. Cp. p. 385 *e* *τοὺς σοφοὺς, ὑπ' ἐνίων δὲ σοφιστὰς προσαγορευθέντας.* I am not aware if the *καὶ μὴ συναδοξεῖν καὶ* of the Aldine has any MS authority. I presume from Wyttenbach's and Dübner's silence that it has; but *μηδὲ—μηδὲ*, as given from some MS by Hercher and Bernardakis, is also the reading of Coll. Nov. As regards *φίλον* it also is given for the Vulgate *φίλων* by Hercher and Bernardakis from some MS. Reiske's conjecture *φίλῳ* is not admissible if we read *μηδὲ—μηδὲ*.

Ch. VII. 96 *c*: *οἱ φιλόσοφοι καὶ χαρίεντες.* Sauppe has corrected *φιλόσοφοι* to *φιλόστοργοι.* This correction is certainly right, and beyond all praise.

Chs. VII—VIII. 96 *d*: *ἐν δὲ τῷ λοιμῷ φησιν ὁ Θουκυδίδης τοὺς ἀρετῆς μάλιστα μεταποιουμένους συναπόλλυσθαι τοῖς φίλοις....... ὅθεν οὕτως τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀφειδεῖν οὐ προσῆκον κτλ.* *οὕτως*, rejected by Hercher, is quite intelligible, if we read straight on. Two connected sentences have been here divorced by the chaptering. *ὅθεν* is more difficult to understand. I take its force to be 'because doing so may involve even death.'

Ch. VIII. 96 *d*: *τὴν αὐτῆς κοινωνίαν φυλάττειν*: *αὐτῆς* is the reading of D: the Vulgate is *αὐτὴν.* It seems to me preferable to read *τὴν κοινωνίαν* simply with Coll. Nov.

Ch. VIII. 96 *e*: *οὐδὲν ἀνόμοιον οὐδ' ἀνώμαλον, οὐδ' ἄδολον.* D's *ἄνισον* for *ἄδολον* is a violent correction. *ἀλλοῖον* is more probable.

Ch. IX. 97 *b*: *ὡς δὲ τὴν ἀσχημάτιστον οἱ φυσικοὶ καὶ ἀχρώματον οὐσίαν λέγουσιν ὑποκειμένην καὶ τρεπομένην ὑπ' αὐτῶν.* There is evidently something missing after *λέγουσιν*, perhaps *ἅπασι τοῖς εἰσιοῦσιν* (cp. *Timaeus* 50 B). D gives *ὑφ αὑτῆς* for *ὑπ' αὐτῶν* which, even if it were possible for other reasons, deprives what follows of all point.

W. R. PATON.

THE NEW COLLEGE MS IN THE 'CUM PRINCIPIBUS PHILOSOPHANDUM ESSE.'

THE Manuscript in its present condition consists of (1) the Ethica in the same order as Ambros. C. 195 inf. i.e. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 55, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 16, 20, 21, and the *De Defectu Oraculorum* 69, the last treatise ending on a leaf the reverse of which is blank, (2) a fragment containing the end of 36 *De esu carnium*, 64 *Bruta ratione uti* (ending with *τῆς θαλάσσης* in ch. VII.), 28 *Cum princ. philosophandum esse*, 35 *Ad princ. ineruditum* and the beginning of 52 *De virtute morali.*

From a comparison of its readings in the *Cum principibus philosophandum esse* with the extracts given by Bernardakis on p. XL of his preface from Venet. 427 and Ambros. 82 it is evident that *Coll. Nov.* is here in accord with the best tradition. The following are its most noteworthy variants from *Dübner's* text: p. 948 27 *προσδιαλέγη* (scr. *ῃ*) *καὶ προσκαθίζη* (scr. *ῃ*) *ὥς ὁ Σωκράτης ἐκείνοις.* This is right; the second person is required. 46 *σωφρονεῖν* for *φιλοσοφεῖν*, unquestionably right. p. 949 1 *ἔχαιρον.* 6 *θεοῦ μεγάλου ὀαριστὴν.* 13 *πρώτην* (confirming Reiske's emendation). 36 *φιλοσοφεῖν.* 37 *υἱὸς μὲν Αἰμιλίου Παύλου.* p. 950 12 *μήδεα μαχλήσαντο.* 25 *δόξης τοσαύτης.* 37 *διώκειν* and *φεύγειν* (*δεῖ διώκειν* ?). 38 *μετρίῳ προσόντα ἤθει* (cum Venet. 427, Venet. 250, Ambr. 82). p. 951 9 *εἴ σε δὲ ἠρόμην.* This is sure to be nearer the original than *εἰ δέ σε.* *Ῥώμην* undoubtedly lurks in *ἠρόμην.* 21 *αὖ οἱ* for *οἱ ἀεὶ.* 30 *φίλους συνήθεις ἀπετυμπάνιζον ἐστρέβλουν καὶ ἐπιμπρασαν ἐναγεῖς ἐποιοῦντο καταράτους.* Correct *καὶ ἐπ.* to *κατεπίμπρασαν*: the absence of the copulae in this passage (a quotation ?) adds to its force. 38 *διοικοῦνται.* 47 *ἄν* for *ἀνὴρ* (cum Ambr. 82).

It is evident that for this treatise at least a collation of Ambros. C. 195 inf. is a necessity.

W. R. P.

THE BRITISH MUSEUM PAPYRUS CXXVIII.

OF the various papyri of the Iliad published by Mr Kenyon in *Classical texts from papyri in the British Museum* there is one which calls for special notice, from the intrinsic interest of its text as well as from its high antiquity. Of Mr Kenyon's collation I have only two complaints to make: first that he has not reproduced many of the peculiarities of spelling, and secondly that he has entirely neglected the somewhat peculiar accentuation of his original, and has given us in its place, without a word of warning, the modern, or rather late mediaeval, accentuation to which we are accustomed. I therefore propose to give every instance of peculiar spelling which I have noticed, together with a few specimens of the accentuation. The latter I do not pretend to give in full: a proper account would require numerous facsimiles, and should form part of a thorough treatise on early Greek accentuation as exhibited in papyri generally, for which the time seems now ripe. It will be seen that I have in a few cases succeeded in adding new variants to those detected by Mr Kenyon: but the greater part of what I have to give regards the constant confusion of ι and ει. But it is necessary that these minutiae should be given: the MS. is really misrepresented when we are told that it has, for instance, ἐυκνήμιδες when it really has ευκνημειδες.

To Mr Kenyon's introductory remarks I have little to add. He has however overlooked one diple on XXIV. 115. There is a stigme against XIII. 620 and XIV. 54, the meaning of which

I do not know. The following lines possess the left-hand margin, and should shew Aristarchean signs, of which however there is no trace: XXIII. 43 71 75 454 459 475 479 480 481 485 504 509 514 518 527 531 533 544 603 604 621 644 659 661 679 683 707 721 725 757 772 800 806 810 843 845 851 855 857 870, XXIV. 54 55 58 121 124 164 172 174 180 184 205 208 210 215 222 229 241 257 272 282 514 545 566 605. These shew how very imperfectly the critical marks were appended even to good MSS.

The following are variants from La Roche's text: it being understood that accents are probably in every case by the second hand—though in one or two instances they look as if they might be by the first.

XXIII. 35 αυταροτον: the superfluous ο has apparently been struck out by m. 2. 39 (added at foot by m. 2) κη]ρυκὲσιν. 72 ειργουσιν. 424 π[αρα]κλεινασ 1, ε del. 2. 438 νικειων. After προσεφη an ι has been added by 2. 441 οισῃ. 449. κονείοντεσ 1, ε del. 2. 461 τε 1, γε 2. 465 εδυνα]σθηι. 470 διαγεινωσκω 1, ε del. 3. 480 αὖται. 487 γνο[ι]ησαποτεινων, m. 2 has added ι after η. 505 γιν[ετ. 510 κλεῖνε μαστειγα. 518 οχεσφιν. 571 ήσχυν[ασ, ι added after η by m. 2. 598 The words added at the top of the column are να[ι] (not ἆ) δη ταυτα, the beginning of 626 which is omitted in its proper place. 605 The first hand had ηπεροπευεισ: m. 2 has written ν over σ. 609 τωι 1, τῶ 2. 620 οψη 1, ι added by 2. 629 ειηι. 640 παραυτόθι. 649 I think that the τε is original and not corrected from το. 651 ομειλον. 658 ευκνήμειδεσ. 659 οιπερ? or ώιπερ? 660 ανασχομενοι? 661 δώιηι. 692 φρεὶκοσ 1, ε del. 2. 693 θεὶνιενφοικιόεντι. 694 ανεπαλτ.α[υ]ταρ. 695 χειρι 1, χερσι 2. 696 ποδεσσι. 701 δαναοισι 1, λαοισι 2. 702 ευπ[υριβητην. 709 οδ]υσσευσ. 711 στιβαρηισι. 712 ωσδ. 714 τετρείγει. 719 οδυσσευσ. 720 οδυσσῆοσ. 721 ευκνημειδεσαχαιοι. 730 κείνησεν, ε del. 2. 735 τρειβ [εσ]θε. 736 εισ 1, ῖσ 2. 739 απομορξα]μενοι. 750 πειονα, ε del. 2. 757 μετ[α]στοιχει. The lines added at the top of the column from 359—361 take the following form

]εσκοπ[
αντιθεονφο[ι]νικαοπαοναπατροσε[ο]ιο
ωσμεμεωδεδρομουκαια ληтιηαπο[

The last line shews what we have to expect of this hand.

763 *οδυσσευσ. οπισθε.* 769 *γλαυκώπιδον*, 2 has added *ι* after *δ*. 773 *επαιξεσθ[αι.* 783 *οδυσσῆι.* 789 *εμεῖ.* 793 The greater part of the word *εριδησασθαι* has been traced over by m. 2, but it is impossible to say if the original reading was different. 806 *ενδεί[νων.* 821 *ακωκ]ην* 1, *ηι* 2. 827 *ρεΐπτασκε* 1, *ε* del. 2. 829 *αλλοισιν.* 840 *δειvη[σασ* 1, *ε* del. 2. 842 *ερρ]είψε* 1, *ε* del. 2. 846 *θ* om. 854 *ηαρ* 1: 2 has added something, apparently *σ* and *γ* one over the other. 857 *ορνειθοσ.* 875 *δειν[ευο]υσαν*, *ε* del. 2.

XXIV. 23 *εισορωωντεσ.* 27 *εον* for *εχον.* 43 *λαβηισι.* 44 *αχ]ιλλευσ.* 45 *γίν[ε]ται, σε[ινε]ται, ονινηισι.* 71 *πηε[στ]ιν* 1, *ν* del. 2. 76 *λάχη* 1, *ι* add. 2. 107 *δην.εικοσ.* 123 *ηυ[ρ* 1, *ευ[ρ* 2. 125 *κλισ[ιη]σ* 1, *ι* add. 2 before *σ*. 131 *βεη* 1, *ι* add 2? 165 *εηισιν.* 178 *οι* for *τοι.* 183 *αχιλληι.* 184 *αχιλληοσ.* 194 *ηλθεν.* 196 *ιηνη* 1, *ιηινηι* 2. 201 *πῆ.* 210 There are just sufficient traces of letters left to shew that the line ended *οτε μιν τεκε μητηρ* instead of *τέκον αὐτή.* 220 *εκε]λευε.* 221 I think there is a trace of a diastole after *εισι.* 223 *αυτηυ* corr. from *αυτην*, I think by m. 1. 227 *ειην* 1, *έίηιν* 2. 228 *η* 1, *ηι* 2. 234 *θρηκεσ* 1, *θρῆικεσ* 2. 236 *ενιμμεγαροισ.* 238 *αιθουσσησ.* 239 *υμειν.* 240 *επεστι?* or *ετεστι?* 241 *όυνοσ[θ]ὅτι* (worn and faint but certain). 258 *εκ[το]ρατθ*, *τ* del. (m. 1?). 384 *ολωλ]εν.* 413 *ηδε.* 414 *ἐυλαι*, the *ε* is by m. 2 over an illegible earlier letter. 450 *κερσαντεσ*, the *ρ* seems to be by m. 2. 451 *λῖμ[ων]όθεν.* 454 *τρισ* 1, *τρεῖσ* 2. 456 *αχι]λλευσ.* 457 *ὦξε.* 462 *αχιλληοσ.* 468 *απεβη* 1, *απεβηι* 2. 472 *αχιλλευσ.* 473 *τῶι.* 476 *πεινων*, *ε* del. 2. 503 *αχιλλευ.* 512 *στεναχ[η.* 563 *γινωσκω.* 565 *τλαιη* 1, *τλαιηι* 2. 566 *ουδέτοχῆασ*: there is possibly a *κ* by m. 2 over *τ*. 571 *]γησεν* shews that the reading was *ὣς φάτο ῥίγησεν δέ.* 578 *αποπ[ηνησ.* 638 *σησ* 1, *σῆισ* 2. 641 *σιτου* 1, *σέιτου* 2.

644 αι]θ[ου]σση. 648 ενκαν[εουσαι, α corr. by 2 to ο. 649 προσεφη 1, προσεφηι 2. 650 λέξ[ο]ν 1, ν del. m. 2. 676 τωιδε 1, τῶιδαρ 2. 687 αιγ (or αισ) 1, αικ 2, not quite certain. 699 I cannot detect any correction of χρυσηι to χρυσεηι. I see nothing but a circumflex over η. 703 δε for τε. 707 λειπετ 1, ε del. 2. The reading was evidently ὢς ἔφατ' οὐδ' ἄρα δή τις ἐνὶ πτόλεϊ λίπετ' ἀνήρ. 757 ἑρσηισ.

Orthographically the chief thing to notice is the extreme frequency of the confusion of ει and ι (generally corrected by m. 2), and the rarity of other sorts of itacism. We have φοικιόεντι for φυκιόεντι, εθικεν for ἔθηκεν, δυω for δοιώ, γνωσεσθαι for γνώσεσθε, and I think no others.

Prosodiacal signs. Interaspiration is found in XXIII. 736 ανἑλόντες. 841 αφ]ἕηκε. XXIV. 133 ξύνἑσ. 235 εξἕσίην. 417 καθὕπερθ[εν. 473 καθἕιατο. 689 ανΐ́στη. XXIII. 858 ἡμιπέλε[κκα is underlined by m. 2: this may be a hyphen. So in 562 there is a similar stroke under αμφι [δεδινηται: as this is at the end of a speech, the mark may be only a *paragraphos*, but it is certainly longer and heavier than that commonly used. These four letters are all that remain of the line, so it is impossible to say how far to the right the stroke went.

It is impossible to discuss the accentuation thoroughly without a facsimile: I give only a few characteristic instances. XXIII. 46 όυμέτι. 74 ευρὺπυλὲς. 440 όυσέτυμόνγεφὰμεν. 523 δΐ́σκοῦρα. 593 άφάρκέτοι. 604 νικησε᾽νεὄιη. 655 ἑξετέαδμητην. 692 φρῖ̀κος. XXIV. 645 στορέσαί τ. The practice of placing the grave accent on the penultimate instead of the last syllable is found also in the Harris papyrus of XVIII. published in the B. M. *Catalogue of Classical MSS.*

We now come to the question of the peculiar readings of the MS. Those attested by ancient authority, but not found in other MSS., are: XXIII. 48 the reading of m. 2 τερπωμεθα, mentioned by Didymos as not accepted by Aristarchos. 427 παρελάσσαι is given as a variant by Schol. T. 490 κ' ἔτ[ι is so quoted in a scholion on IX. 292. 593 ἀπαιτήσειας is mentioned by Eustathios. 600 τοι for σοι is interlined in A. 701 A also has λαοῖσι interlined over Δαναοῖσι.

παλαιμοσύνης is the reading of Aristarchos. 753 *πειρήσεσθον* was the reading of Zenodotos. XXIV. 48 *ὀδυρόμενος* is given as a variant by A and Eust. 125 *κλισίηισ'* for *κλισίηι* is implied in Didymos *οὕτως Ἀρίσταρχος ἑνικῶς ἐν κλισίηι.* 512 *στεναχή* was read by Zenodotos. 518 *ἄσχεο* is implied by Didymos *οὕτως Ἀρίσταρχος κάκ' ἄνσχεο.* In two unmetrical readings the MS. agrees with Eustathios: XXIII. 785 *δή* om.: XXIV. 47 *ἢ καὶ* for *ἠέ.* Neglecting these we have no less than twelve variants attested by one ancient authority or another. In the same two books L has only 6 (see *Journal of Philology*, XVIII. 202). Further it must be remembered that the papyrus is so fragmentary that it does not contain, at a rough estimate, an equivalent of more than 500 or 600 lines out of the 1700 contained in L in the two books. If it were safe to argue from so small a basis, we should have to conclude that this was a far more original and independent MS. than any with which we are now acquainted, and we must regard the unattested variants with considerable respect.

Of the new readings the most important is XXIV. 192 *κεχ]όνδει,* which restores to the Greek language a form which had already been postulated on theoretical grounds by more than one etymologist. Fick actually wrote it in this place in his *Homerische Ilias,* p. 211, and it has been defended also by Wackernagel in the *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*[1]. The reading in the papyrus can hardly be explained as anything but a genuine piece of ancient tradition. Of other readings the following may be noticed. XXIII. 407 *λίπησθε.* 434 *ἐλαύνων.* 444 *καμόντε.* 452 *ἀκούων.* 602 *κεν* for *τοι.* 682 *μάλα* for *μέγα.* 782 *φίλοι* for *πόποι.* 848 *ἀστάντες* for *ἀνστάντες* is an ancient variant, as we know from many similar passages. XXIV. 126 *παρέζετο* for *καθέζετο.* 202 *ἄνασσες* for *ἀνάσσεις.* 210 *τέκε μήτηρ* for *τέκον αὐτὴ* is only a mistaken reminiscence of XX. 128 where the line occurs in this form. 241 *οὔνοσθε* for *οὔνεσθε* or *ὀνόσασθε* does not help to clear up a difficult passage. 265 *πάντες* for *πατρός.* 515 *αὐτίκα δ' ἐκ* for *αὐτίκ' ἀπό* may be right. 567 *πυλάων*. 571 *ῥίγησεν*. 687 *γ'* for *κ'*. 703 *δέ* for *τε*.

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[1] 21 Nov. 1891 (11 Jahrg. no. 47).

Of the remaining readings, all which can be called real variants are given by one or more MSS. which are already known. In some cases they give welcome support to good readings insufficiently attested before, e.g. the omission of *θ'* after *ἡ δέ* in XXIII. 846, and *ἧδε* for *ἠώς* in XXIV. 413. (This reading is not given by Mr Kenyon because he collates with the text of my own edition, which has *ἧδε*.) A comparison of the remaining variants seems to shew that among known MSS. those most nearly related to our papyrus are D and T. The respectable antiquity of some unmetrical readings is shewn by the presence of *λέξον* for *λέξο* in XXIV. 650: this is given also by D and G.

The superiority of this papyrus to the average text is well shewn by a comparison with the others published in *Classical Texts*. CXXXVI. does not seem to contain a single reading which can really be called a variant. CXXVI. is written with such gross carelessness that it is hardly possible to trust its evidence at all. Such as it is however it attests the following readings: III. 375 *ἔθηκεν* for *ἔδωκεν*, with Eust. 415 *θύρετρα*. III. 57 *εἶσο* for *ἕσσο*, a variant which is probably implied in the statement that Aristarchos and others read *ἕσσο*. 74 the original *ναίοιμεν* was the reading of Zenodotos. 278 the corrected reading *καμόντες* is that of Herakleides. 302 *ἔφατ'*, so Eust. All other variants are either impossible or are already known from MSS. of the vulgate.

Finally it will be seen that the papyrus affords no sort of support to the belief that the criticism of Aristarchos and the other Alexandrines produced any effect upon the ordinary commercial text. This idea, which one might have thought was exploded, has lately been revived, and supported by the fact that an early papyrus found by Mr Petrie contains several lines which do not stand in our MS. It has been concluded that Aristarchos and his predecessors purged of a large number of superfluous lines the text current in their time. Even if we had not a convincing mass of evidence to the contrary, it would be impossible to draw such a conclusion from the evidence presented. Every one who has had much to do with MSS. of the Iliad knows that some possessors, and even scribes, of copies had a mania for inserting into text or margin lines from other parts of the poems which happened to be suggested to their memory by the passage before them. Our papyrus is a case in point. Three lines from another part of XXIII. have been written at the top of a column with a mark directing their insertion after 757. In any copy taken from the papyrus they would infallibly have been inserted in the text, which would then have served as an argument for what Aristarchos had done. As a matter of fact it will be seen that of readings in our text mentioned by Didymos only one was accepted, and three were rejected, by Aristarchos. In other words the MS. belongs to a family which was known to and consulted by Aristarchos when making his eclectic text: but which remained, like all other MSS. that we know, with the single exception of A, absolutely uninfluenced by what he did.

It is a matter of extreme regret that the few remaining scholia in the papyrus are so mutilated as to be undecipherable. The few words which I have managed to read do not appear in any of the present scholia on XXIII. or XXIV. They are *σεσημειωτ...σιδηρον...*in two lines at the end of 850, and *ωσφιλιασ* in the much longer note at the head of the last column. It does not look however as if either of these belonged to a scholion of a critical sort: and even without this extraneous interest the MS. is important enough. Fragmentary though it is it will leave some mark on the Homeric text: had it been perfect, it would to all appearance have been the most important text in existence.

WALTER LEAF.

Since writing the above, I have received, by the courtesy of Prof. Ludwich of Königsberg, a copy of his program "*Die sogenannte Voralexandrinische Ilias*," in which he discusses the question of the supposed influence of Aristarchos on the text.

He shews that the existence of a large number of editions containing lines which are not found in our text has always been known. But these are only eccentricities of individual editors, mere sports of criticism, and never claimed a place in the tradition which has given us our Homer. They in fact as little affected the vulgate as did Aristarchos himself. The Fayum MS. brings no new element into the textual criticism of the Iliad: its interest lies in the fact that we seem to have got a fragment of one of these very capricious recensions, but the microscopically small extent of it forbids us to found conclusions of any sort on its evidence.

Prof. Ludwich strongly urges, and in this also I entirely agree with him, that it is most desirable, and indeed imperative, that the whole of Pap. CXXVIII. should be published. A mere collation of so important a document is never enough, for it leaves out of sight all the negative evidence. Until a student has the very letters before him, he can never tell what it is that the MS. does *not* say: and this may be almost as important as what it does. For the same reason a full publication of the equally important Bodleian papyrus is much needed, and it is to be hoped that we shall not have to wait long for it.

W. L.

ON SOME FRAGMENTS OF AESCHYLUS, AND ON THE SUPPLICES.

THE following suggestions occurred to me in reading the κριτικαὶ καὶ ἑρμηνευτικαὶ παρατηρήσεις on Aeschylus of Anastasius Zakas, Athens, 1890.

Zakas has a few remarks on the fragments pp. 276—283.

Fragm. 25.

Phrynich. Bekker p. 5. 21 ἀνθρωποειδὲς θηρίον ὕδατι συζῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ Γλαύκου ἀναφανέντος ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης. Αἰσχύλος.

Nauck observes rightly 'neque ἀνθρωποειδὴς neque θηρίον tragoediae conuenit': I would add the words have every appearance of being a *scazon*.

The author's name was not Aeschylus, but Aeschrio, the fragments of whose scazons, closely resembling those of Herodas, are collected by Bergk P. L. G. pp. 800—803 ed. 3. In Tzetzes' scholia to Lycophron 688 (Bergk p. 803) μέμνηται δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ Αἰσχρίων ἐν ἑβδόμῳ Ἐφεσίδος there is in many MSS the v. l. Αἰσχύλος: and I doubt not other cases exist.

The verse then should be restored to Aeschrio and written

ἀνθρωποειδὲς ὕδατι θηρίον συζῶν.

Fragm. 269 (275).

ἐρωδιὸς γὰρ ὑψόθεν ποτώμενος
ὄνθῳ σε πλήξει νηδύος χειλώμασιν.

χυλώμασιν Meineke, κενώμασιν Nauck, χωρήμασιν Zakas = ἀποχωρήμασιν excrements. I cannot find an instance of this use, and Zakas quotes none. Possibly τιλήμασιν, with the same sense, is the right word.

Fr. 275 (281).

μίαν παρείρας πλεκτάνην χειμάρροον
στέγην πυρώσω καὶ κατανθρακώσομαι.

I do not understand how so many interpreters, including Dindorf in his lexicon to Aeschylus, can explain πλεκτάνη here by *siphon*, a water-spout. Though the notion of this word is not overclear, it seems to find a parallel in Vergil's *Tris imbris torti radios, tris nubis aquosae Addiderat, rutili tris ignis et alitis austri.* There Conington rightly observes that the thunderbolt is represented as made out of the component parts of the storm. Aeschylus seems similarly to describe a thunderbolt as a coil of fluid storm, i.e. in which the component parts of a storm are twisted together into a single compact weapon of fire, calculated to reduce any roof it struck to ashes.

Fr. 293 (300).

2 *Αἰθιοπίδος γῆς, ἔνθα Νεῖλος ἑπτάρους*
γαῖαν κυλίνδων πνευμάτων ἐπομβρίᾳ,
ἐν ᾗ πυρωτὸν μηνὸς ἔκλαμψαν φλόγα
5 *τήκει πετραίαν χιόνα.*

3 *κυλίνδων cod. F Athenaei* II. 87, *κυλίνδει Salmasius, καλύπτει Zakas.*

4 *πυρωτὸν μηνὸς* F *teste Nauckio, πυρωτὸν φέγγος Nauckius, πυρωτὸν γλῆνος ego.*

That πυρωτὸν is right seems probable from Prom. 694 *κεἰ μὴ θέλοι, πυρωτὸν ἐκ Διὸς μολεῖν Κεραυνόν.* A word, unobjectionable in its formation, and which occurs twice in Aeschylus, if we may trust the tradition of the MSS, ought not lightly to be rejected: the more that it is also found in a passage of the comic poet Antiphanes, Φιλοθήβαιος 217. 21 Kock *πυρωτοῖς ἀνθράκων ῥαπίσμασι* (so MSS of Athen. 622 f, *ῥιπίσμασι* Abresch).

But for *μηνὸς* a word can be substituted which is far nearer the letters than φέγγος and conveys a similar meaning, namely γλῆνος. Aratus Phaen. 317 *τὰ δὲ οἱ περὶ τέσσαρα κεῖται Γλήνεα, παρβολάδην δύο, πὰρ δύο πεπτηῶτα*, where the Schol.

explains *ποιητικῶς δὲ εἶπε τοὺς ἀστέρας γλήνεα.* But whether in this sense of *constellation*, or less distinctly of *light*, cf. Hesych. *γλῆνος φάος*, the word would be equally appropriate here of the Sun.

Suppl. 75 (65 Tucker).

I copy from Merkel's transcript of M, printed at the Clarendon Press in 1872.

γό εδ-ναδ' ἀν θεμί ζομαι δειμάι νο υσαφ ό λουσ τᾶσ
δε φ^{υ}*γᾶσ ἀερίασ ἀπὸ γᾶσ· ἕι τίσ ἐστὶ κηδεμών.*

As M gives *φόλους* not *φίλους*, it seems possible that Aeschylus wrote *δειμαίνουσ' ἐφόδους*, a word used by him again Eum. 372 of the assaults of the Eumenides. Tucker, feeling the difficulty of *φίλους*, which as explained by Hermann is all but impossible, conj. *ποιμαίνουσα φόβους*: too far, I think, from the letters of M to be probable. By *ἐφόδους* the Danaides would refer to apprehended attacks from their cousins, and this would be explained by *εἴ τις ἐστὶ κηδεμὼν φυγᾶς τᾶσδε*, 'in the thought that there may be some one that watches our escape.'

89 (76 Tucker).

δ-ιὸ σΐμεροσ ὀυ κὲυθήρατοσ ἐτ^{ύ}*χθη*
πάνται τοι φλεγέθει κ-ὰν σκό τῳι·
μέλαι ν αι. ξ υντύχαι μερ ό πεσσι λα-οῖσ·

The meaning of this difficult passage I believe to be as follows: Zeus' will is always obscure: it is like a smoky fire dark even against a dark sky, not only in the blaze of the sun. 'Everywhere it is as a fire that even in darkness flames with a blackness in its issues to mortal men.'

That is to say, the stress lies on *μελαίνᾳ ξὺν τύχᾳ*. Zeus' will is never easily traceable: it is always dark even when it might seem most likely to be perceptible.

104 (87 T.).

βίαν
δ' ὄυτιν' ἐξ οπλίζει τὰν ἄποιν ον δ-αιμονίων

The meaning would be satisfied by writing for *ἄποινον*. *ἄποικον* 'violence that lives apart from divine workings.' For this is the point which the Chorus is here urging, *ἥμενον ἄνω φρόνημά πως Αὐτόθεν ἐξέπραξεν ἔμπας ἑδράνων ἐφ᾽ ἁγνῶν.*

I am aware that this does not bring the verse into correspondence with the answering words *δυσπαραβούλοισι φρεσίν·* but neither does *ἥμενον ἄνω φρόνημά πως* (which immediately follows *δαιμονίων*) correspond to *καὶ διάνοιαν μαινόλιν.*

M here gives *δυσπαραβούλοισιν*, not *δυσπαραβούλοισι.* Possibly the metre was

choriambus + 3rd epitrite + choriambus + 3rd epitrite
δυσπαραβού | λοισιν φρεσὶν | καὶ διάνοι᾽ | αν μαινόλιν

Then *τὰν ἄποικον δαιμονίων* would represent a similar, but not identical, metrical sequence *reversed*, i.e. 2nd epitrite + choriambus.

148 (126 T.).

παντὶ δὲ σθεν ουσι δ-ιωγμοῖσι . . . . δ᾽ -ἀσφ αλέασ
ἀδ-μήτασ ἀδ-μήτα ῥ ύσι ο σγεν ἔσθω.

παντὶ δὲ σθένους, a genitive like *ἐν παντὶ ἀθυμίας* Thuc. VII. 55, may, I believe, be right; 'with all of strength' 'with her whole of strength' let her come forth to save. A somewhat similar genitive exists perhaps in 234 (202 T.) *οὐδὲ μὴ 'ν ᾍδου θανὼν Φύγῃ μάταιον αἰτίας πράξας τάδε*, if M is right in giving *μάταιον αἰτίας·* 'even in Hades he can never escape unchastity of reproach,' a slight variation on *μάταιον αἰτίαν* an unchaste reproach. A third, somewhat similar, genitive may lurk in 296 (269 T.) *ταῦτα τἀμπαλαγμάτων* (M gives *ταῦτα-παλλαγμάτων*), i.e. *ταῦτα τὰ ἐμπαλαγμάτων* 'this story of their embraces.'

186 (210 T.).

καὶ Ζηνὸς ὄρνιν τόνδε νῦν κικλήσκετε.

Freeman, Hist. of Sicily I. p. 414, states that on the coins of Himera a cock is supposed to symbolise day. Cf. p. 300 of Vol. II.

260 (240 T.).

Tucker's conj. *χρανθεῖσ᾽ ἀνῆκε γαῖα μητρυιᾶς δίκην* is excellently supported by him from Plat. Menex. 237 B *τρεφόμενοι* οὐχ ὑπὸ μητρυιᾶς ἀλλ' ὑπὸ μητρὸς τῆς χώρας and Hes. Op. 823 ἄλλοτε μητρυιὴ πέλει ἡμέρη, ἄλλοτε μήτηρ. The Romans use *noverca* very similarly. Yet μητρυιᾶς δίκην is somewhat remote from the letters of M μηνειταῖ ἄκη. I would suggest μητρυιαῖ' followed either by ἄχη (plagues) or ἄκη 'expiations.' Such expiations would be in the strictest sense 'stepmotherly *cures*.'

[Zakas conj. χρανθεῖσ' ἀνῆκε γαῖα δείν' ἄγη. τί μήν; p. 113.]

287 (261 T.).

καὶ τὰς ἀνάνδρους κρεοβρότους δ' Ἀμαζόνας.

Wellauer deleted δ' and is followed by Tucker. Wecklein reads κρεοβόρους δ' but without explanation. The reading of M is defensible, exactly as it stands, 'the Amazons that have no husbands, but live on bleeding flesh.' Their remoteness from ordinary civilization was indicated by two things, (1) their avoiding marriage, (2) their eating raw flesh. These two are represented as opposites, as if the poet had said ἄνδρας μὲν οὐκ ἐχούσας, κρέας δὲ ὠμὸν ἐσθιούσας.

300 (273 T.).

οὔκουν πελάζει Ζεὺς ἐπ' εὐκραίρῳ βοΐ;

ἐπ' gives the idea of *covering*.

306 (278 T.).

τί οὖν ἔτευξε δ' ἄλλο δυσπότμῳ βοΐ;

So M. Again the δ' ought to be retained. The combination τί οὖν δ' is in keeping with the quaint only half-decent character of the story. It is a touch of common life.

322, 3 (294, 5 T.).

εἰδὼς δ' ἀμὸν ἀρχαῖον γένος
πράσσοις ἂν ὡς Ἀργεῖον ἀνστήσας στόλον.

So M with ἀντήσας in the margin. I believe Aeschylus to have written not ἀνστήσῃς but ἀνστήσεις 'act in such sort as to secure your raising from their posture of suppliants a band that is Argive born.' The future would be nearer to the required meaning of *taking secure measures* for the safety of the suppliants. It would also be nearer to the letters of M. The same palaeographical error perhaps in O. C. 1086 παντόπτα πόροις, where I would write παντόπτ' εἰ πόροις 'would thou mightest give.' '*o si des.*'

345 (317 T.).

πέφρικα λεύσσων τάσδ' ἕδρας κατασκίους.

πέφυκα M. The same corruption in the Antiope fragments published by Sayce and Mahaffy, Hermathena for 1891, p. 46, v. 21 [τί δ';] ἢ τίς; [ὡς π]έφρικ'. ἀπὼν [δ'] οὐκ οἶδ' ἐγώ. See American Journal of Philology XII. p. 483.

535 (514 T.).

γενοῦ πολυμνῆστορ ἔφαπτορ Ἰοῦς.

πολυμνήστωρ, associated as it is here with ἐφάπτωρ, suggests Zeus as the wooer of many, the *omniuolus Iuppiter* (Catull. lxviii.), rather than any idea of 'mindful.' πολυμνήστη occurs three times in the Odyssey, π. βασίλεια (iv. 770, xxiii. 149, π. γυνή xiv. 64), and it would be natural and easy to form an adj. with an active meaning to correspond.

598 (577 T.).

πάρεστι δ' ἔργον ὡς ἔπος
σπεῦσαί τι τῶν δούλιος φέρει φρήν.

Ought not δούλιος to be retained? It is at least quite in unison with the rest of the vv. Zeus can hasten deeds as it were words, whatever it be that his obedient purpose bears (brings) for execution. The mind of Zeus first *offers* something to be done, and *then* carries it out with unhesitating obedience as soon as Zeus has determined to execute it.

667 (646 T.).

καὶ γεραροῖσι πρεσβυτοδόκοι γεμόντων θυμέλαι φλεγόντων.

The meaning of γεραροῖσι cannot be merely the same thing as is implied by πρεσβυτοδόκοι, for Aeschylus is incapable of such inanity. Nor does there seem to be any good evidence that γεραρὰ can = τιμαί. It remains to interpret it, as L. and S. have done, in a secondary and derived sense, of *priests*, in accordance with the Hesychian gloss γεραραί· ἱέρειαι κοινῶς, which Hesych. goes on to distinguish from the *special* γεραραί, the 14 priestesses of Artemis at Limnae. The dative will thus be a sort of dat. commodi 'let the altars that receive our elders teem to the approach of the priests, let them blaze (with offerings).'

806, 7 (783, 4 T.) is thus given in Merkel

τίν' ἀμφ' αὐτᾶσ ἔτι πόρον
τέμνω γάμου καὶ λυτήρια.

I agree with Prof. F. W. Newman in believing that καὶ before λυτήρια is an integral part of the corrupt word and must be taken into the account in restoring it. Many years ago I thought this might be [1] κάλυπτρα, plur. of κάλυπτρον, in a sense opposed to ἀνακάλυπτρα = ἀνακαλυπτήρια or rite of unveiling the bride, which was part of the regular marriage ceremonies of Greece. The flight of the brides from the husbands they loathed might not unfitly be called 'the *veiling* of the bride' or 'veiling of the nuptial-rite.' They would *reverse* the natural order of the marriage-rite; for the unveiling of the bride should be turned into a veiling, flight take the place of consummation. Agam. 1178 οὐκέτ' ἐκ καλυμμάτων Ἔσται δεδορκὼς νεογάμου νύμφης δίκην. Hesych. ἀνακαλυπτήριον ὅτε τὴν νυμφὴν πρῶτον ἐξάγουσιν τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ. The whole then becomes, adopting the generally received ἀμφυγᾶς for ἀμφ' αὐτᾶς,

τίν' ἀμφυγᾶς ἔτι πόρον
τέμνω, γάμου κάλυπτρα;

779 (758 T.).

μέλας γενοίμαν καπνός.

Emped. 39.

ὠκύμοροι καπνοῖο δίκην ἀρθέντες ἀπέπταν.

784 (762 T.).

ἄφυκτον δ' οὐκέτ' ἂν πέλοι κέαρ.
κελαινόχρως δὲ πάλλεταί μου καρδία.

[1] Prof. Newman gives καλύπτραν, but alters the rest of the passage arbitrarily thus

τᾶνδ' ὑφᾶν, τελεσφόρον
δεμνίων, γάμου καλύπτραν,

translating 'a complete and final shroud over the marriage-bed.'

Tucker ingeniously conj. *ἀφύκτων δ' οὐκέτ' ἂν πέλοι σκέπαρ*, without however being able to support *σκέπαρ* by any actual reference, though *ἄλκαρ εἶλαρ* are existing words with the same meaning.

This must, I think, be considered uncertain: *νόαρ* too possesses only a shadowy claim. If *κέαρ* conceals a noun in *-αρ*, the rare word *σκίναρ*, used by Nicander in his Theriaca 694 *μή τοι ἐνισκήλῃ νεαρὸν σκίναρ ὠκὺς ἀίξας* which the scholiast paraphrases *μὴ ξηράνῃ τὸ σῶμα τῆς γαλῆς ὁ ἥλιος προσελθὼν καὶ προσπεσὼν ὀξύς*, and again *σκίναρ δὲ γέννημα παρὰ τὸ σκιρτᾶν, ἢ τὸ σῶμα καὶ σκήνωμα*, and which seems to have meant 'body,' would well suit the passage. But *ἄφυκτον* can scarcely be right. *ἐφικτὸν* would be intelligible: '*then* should my body no longer be within their grasp (i.e. if I became a smoke in the air): the thought which makes my heart beat within me.' *ἐφικτὸς* is not found in tragedy, but is quoted from Empedocles and Parmenides.

820 (794 T.).

Tucker takes no notice of Hesychius' *μάταισι· ταῖς ματαιότησι.* Yet not only is it supposed by Schmidt to refer to this v. of the Supplices, but the combination with *πολυθρόοις* very well expresses the ineffectual efforts of the pursuing sons of Aegyptus, whose clamorous cries, like those of so many hounds, become noisier in proportion as they are baffled in their attempt to seize the Danaides.

830 (805 T.).

ὁρῶ τάδε φροίμια πράξαν πόνων βιαίων ἐμῶν.

I notice that Tucker and Zakas (p. 138), who has not seen Tucker's edition, *both* consider that *πράξαν* conceals *ἄρξαν-* in some form. The former writes *τἄρξαντ' Ἐμῶν βιαίων πόνων*: Zakas *ἀπάρξαντα.* Yet the use of *πράξαν* is rather like *τί ποτ' εὔπλοιαν ἔπραξαν*; at the end of the play, 1046.

834 (809 T.) Merkel gives thus

δ-υσφ ο ρ αναῒ κ̓-ὰνγ-α-ῖ
γᾶι· ἄν αξ προτάσσου.

It seems one of those obvious remarks, which yet has been made by no one, that γᾷ of 834 is taken up in γάϊε of 835, a vocative attracted into the case of ἄναξ, but really predicative, 'on land, O king, marshal before us.'

I have already suggested, Journ. of Philology XIX. p. 176, that the mysterious ἰόφ of 827 is identical with the word forming part of the strange ειοφαλεον in the papyrus magica printed by Dieterich, p. 811, l. 17. Can ὄμ, which follows ἰόφ, be the mystic *om* of the Indians? Compare my remarks on δακοσάχ and the various names in ἀχ ἰχ ἰκ ὢχ ὢκ l. c.

847, 8 (821, 2 T.)

are thus given by Merkel

αἵ μο ν εσ ὤσ ἐπάμι δα ησυ δ-ουπια τάπι τα

possibly representing

αἵμον' ἔσω σ' ἐπ' ἀμίδα (or as Hermann conj. ἄμαλα)
ἥσω· δούπια τἀπιτᾷ,

i.e. '*sanguinolentam intus te in naviculam iaciam: plagae et eiulationes tantum sunt ea quae in hanc impositae restabant.*'

ἔσω and ἥσει before me Hartung. So many critics acquiesce in δούπια that I see no necessity for giving it up: τἀπιτᾷ is no doubt somewhat barbaric, but so is the whole surrounding. Tucker appears to me wrong in his attempts to reduce this scene to ordinary Greek.

876, 7 (848, 9 T.).

ὀι ὀῖ ὀῖ ὀῖ ὀῖ λ-υμ-ασισ ὑπρ ο γασυ λασκ̊ει
περι χαμπτὰ βρυάζεισ ὃς ἐρ ω τᾶς.

In the Journ. of Philol. x. p. 23 I suggested that two Egyptian names were concealed here, *Isis*, and *champsa* (χάμψα = crocodile, Herod. II. 69). In Wecklein's second volume my conj. λύμας Ἶσι is wrongly printed λύμας Ἰοῖ. Here I recall this conjecture, because there would be an *appropriateness* in the introduction of the name Isis. The Herald has just taunted the Chorus in the words ἴυζε καὶ βόα πικρότερ' ἀχέων οἰζύος ὄνομ' ἔχων. The Chorus take up his word οἰζύος and play upon it in the similarly sounding Ἶσι. Secondly, Io the ancestress of the Danaides was worshipped as

Isis. Serv. on Aen. VII. 790 *Io diu exagitata (oestro) ad Aegyptum uenit et Iouis uoluntate in Isim mutata colique coepta est.*

885 (856 T.).

ὀιὀῖ πάτερ βρο τι οσα ροσαται μαλδ-αάγει.

If Eustathius has rightly interpreted the first part of this as *βρότεος* (*βρότειος*) *ἄρος ἄτα*, we need only concern ourselves with the remainder. The last words look like *ἀμαλάδ' ἄγει.* But so far as I have noticed the *ι* which precedes *μαλδ-* has not been taken into account. It is, I believe, a relique of *τί*. But, if it is so, *τί μ' ἀμαλάδ' ἄγει* being unpronounceable, some other word would seem to be concealed in *μαλδα*, possibly *μ' ἅλαδ'* (Schütz), "what means he by dragging me to the sea?" Or may the strange *ἀμάνδαλος* = *ἀφανής*, a word used by Alcaeus (122 (97) Bergk), lurk under this disguise?

950 (918 T.).

ἰσθι μὲν τὰδ' ἤδη πόλεμον ἐρισθεν ἑον.

Cobet altered this to

ἔοιγμεν ἤδη π. ἀρεῖσθαι νέον,

which, as Zakas rightly observes, ignores *τὰδ'*. The accent of this word in M which Merkel gives thus *τὰδ'* points, perhaps, to some deeper corruption, for instance *ἐνθάδ'*. The rest is conjecture, *δεῖ μ'* or something similar. The ambiguous *ἀρεῖσθαι*, which few would venture to pronounce Aeschylean, would thus be avoided: *αἵρεσθαι* is sufficiently near to *ἔρισθε*. Perhaps, then,

δεῖ μ' ἐνθάδ' ἤδη πόλεμον αἵρεσθαι νέον.

956 (924 T.).

πύργων βαθείᾳ μηχανῇ κεκλημένην.

Tucker says '*βαθείᾳ* not so much with allusion to the height of the ramparts (= *ὑψηλῇ*) but with *μηχανῇ* denotes the shrewdness of construction which makes them impregnable, cf. Pers. 142 *βαθύβουλος*.'

Surely not. *βαθείᾳ* in reference to towers must mean depth in an actual and real not in a metaphysical or mental sense. Neither can it mean *high*. Rather it is 'deep-recessed,' parts projecting and others receding inwardly, or again it might = the *cauae turres* of the Roman poets, spacious and roomy and providing an ample shelter to soldiers on guard at the walls.

959 (927 T.).

This v. is strangely corrupt in M.

ἐυ θυμεῖ ν ἔστι ν ἐν τ^{υ}χό υϛη ναίειν δόμοις
πολλῶν μετ' ἄλλων.

Though the conj. *ἔνθ' ὑμίν ἐστιν εὐτύκους ναίειν δόμους* (Weil and Kirchhoff) is seductively near to the MS, I believe that the older conj. of Turnebus *εὔθυμον* is more likely to be right. Od. xiv. 63 *οἷά τε ᾧ οἰκῆι ἄναξ εὔθυμος ἔδωκεν, Οἶκόν τε κλῆρόν τε πολυμνήστην τε γυναῖκα.* Nor is *εὐτύκους* quite certain; may not *ἐντυχουϛη* be a corruption of an original *ἐν τύχῃ*, glossed by *εὐτυχῶς*? 'Cheerful is it to live prosperously in houses shared with many others.'

994, 5 (962, 3 T.).

πᾶς δ' ἐν μετοίκῳ γλῶσσαν εὔτυκον φέρει
κακήν, τό τ' εἰπεῖν εὐπετὲς μύσαγμά πως.

εὔτυκον is no doubt right, well explained by Tucker as for *εὔτυχον* of M suggesting a weapon that leaps readily from its sheath. But I demur to his view of *τό τ' εἰπεῖν εὐπετὲς μύσαγμά πως*, 'it is easy in some way to cast the smirch of a reproach,' following the scholiast *τὸ εἰπεῖν μυσαρόν τι κατὰ τῶν ξένων εὐχερές ἐστιν.* Such a crossing of clauses as this implies, *τό τ' εἰπεῖν μύσαγμα εὐπετές πως*, is surely inconceivable. Linwood, it is true, in his Lexicon to Aeschylus suggests a rendering which takes somewhat from the harshness of such a construction by translating 'it is easy to call them a nuisance.' On the other hand Weil's view that *φέρει* extends to *τό τ' εἰπεῖν* is unnatural and strained. It seems at least a possible alternative to translate 'a word (of censure) is, I know not how, a light befoulment,' i.e. a way of throwing dirt which gives little distress to the thrower. The bad meaning of *εἰπεῖν* is easily got from the preceding *γλῶσσαν κακήν.*

1021 (989 T.).

If *περιναίετε* is right, compare Callim. Del. 267 *Πίονες ἤπειροί τε καὶ αἳ περιναίετε νῆσοι.* But I do not feel sure that *περιναιέται* nom. plur. of *περιναιέτης* (Il. xxiv. 488) or perhaps *περὶ ναιέται* is impossible. The rhythm of this v. would then correspond exactly to *προχοὰς σέβωμεν ὕμνοις—στύγιον πέλει τόδ' ἆθλον.*

ROBINSON ELLIS.

TWO NOTES ON SOPHOCLES.

O. C. 1117, 1118.

ὅδ' ἔσθ' ὁ σώσας· τοῦδε χρὴ κλύειν, πάτερ,
καὶ σοί τε τοὔργον τοὐμὸν ἔσται βραχύ.

1118 is written as above in the Medicean. This might easily be a corruption of

καὶ σοί τε τοὔργον τοῦτο νῷν τ' ἔσται βραχύ.

The dual *νῷν* is quite in accordance with the frequent references to both his daughters, now in the dual, now in the plural, of Oedipus' immediately preceding speech 1110—1116, *σφῷν παρεστώσαιν—ἐρείσατ', ὦ παῖ, ἐμφύντε, κἀναπαύσατον—εἴπαθ'.* The meaning of course is, that both Oedipus and his daughters would find a pleasure in listening to the account of their rescue from the lips of the rescuer himself.

Antig. 4—6.

I am not sure that Prof. Jebb's note in his appendix on these vv. quite explains my view. I propose to read *ἀτὰρ* for *ἄτερ*.

οὐδὲν γὰρ οὔτ' ἀλγεινὸν οὔτ' ἄτης, ἀτὰρ
οὔτ' αἰσχρὸν οὔτ' ἄτιμον ἔσθ', ὁποῖον οὐ
τῶν σῶν τε κἀμῶν οὐκ ὄπωπ' ἐγὼ κακῶν.

'nihil enim neque luctuosum neque calamitatis, sed uero neque inhonestum quicquam neque infame est, quod ego non in tuis meisque miseriis uiderim.'

ἀτὰρ would thus mark a *crescendo* or higher point in the tragic story of Antigone and Ismene; it contained not only all that was wretched and calamitous, but all that was shameful and disgraceful as well.

For a use of *ἀτὰρ* somewhat similar I refer to Plat. Phaed. 60 *ἄλλοι τινές με ἤδη ἤροντο, ἀτὰρ καὶ* Εὐηνὸς *πρώην.* Alcib. I. 124 D *λέγω μέντοι ἀληθῆ, ὅτι ἐπιμελείας δεόμεθα, μᾶλλον μὲν πάντες ἄνθρωποι, ἀτὰρ νώ γε καὶ μάλα σφόδρα.* In each of these instances there is a similar contrast of the more advanced point to the less. Euenus is singled out as more particular in his inquiries than others: Socrates and Alcibiades as more in need of diligent instruction than the rest of the world. So in the passage of the Antigone, the shame and dishonour of the tragedy of Oedipus are regarded as a point *beyond* its mere sorrowfulness; more intense and, as an appeal, more moving.

ἀτὰρ ends an iambic line similarly marked off by a pause from the preceding words, Trach. 54, *πῶς παισὶ μὲν τοσοῖσδε πληθύεις, ἀτὰρ* Ἀνδρὸς *κατὰ ζήτησιν οὐ πέμπεις τινα;* and so O. T. 1052.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

ΜΕΛΛΩ.

Homeric Use. The construction of *μέλλω* in Homer is very elegant and interesting. *μέλλω γίγνεσθαι* = *I am like to be becoming*, *μέλλω γενέσθαι* = *I am like to have become*, *μέλλω γενήσεσθαι* = *I am like to become in the future.* The best account of *μέλλω* will be based on this distinction of its uses.

(I.) *μέλλω* with present. Root-meaning (*a*) *I am like to be now acting in such a way*, or *I am probably acting.* A very good instance is K. 326: *ὅθι που μέλλουσιν ἄριστοι βουλὰς βουλεύειν, are probably now taking counsel.* Hence (*β*): *I am like to act as a rule in such a way.* Λ. 364, Υ. 451: *ᾧ μέλλεις εὔχεσθαι ἰὼν ἐς δοῦπον ἀκόντων, to whom, belike, thou art wont to pray.* Ξ. 125: *τὰ δὲ μέλλετ᾽ ἀκουέμεν, ye are like to hear of these things*, i.e. *to hear often of them*; compare δ. 94, and 200: *μέλλεις δὲ σὺ ϝίδμεναι*, which is practically a present. *σ.* 19: *ὄλβον δὲ θεοὶ μέλλουσιν ὀπάζειν*, is quite wrongly explained by Ebeling; it means *methinks it is the gods who give wealth.* Hence (*γ*) the imperfect of *μέλλω* with present infinitive has a similar force to that of *oportebat* with present. *α.* 232: *μέλλεν μέν ποτε ϝοῖκος ὅδ᾽ ἀφνειὸς καὶ ἀμύμων ἔμμεναι, this house was like once to be rich*, i.e. *this house probably was rich.* Compare *σ.* 138: *καὶ γὰρ ἐγώ ποτ᾽ ἔμελλον ἐν ἀνδράσιν ὄλβιος εἶναι, for I myself also was like once to be rich, must have been rich*, where *ἔμελλον* gives a sort of pathetic turn to the phrase, as if the speaker could now hardly believe it, as in the common *εἴ ποτ᾽ ἔην γε.* This use is correctly derived from the simple *μέλλω* with present, but in sense it is identical with *μέλλω* and an aorist. In fact it makes no difference whether the past time is expressed by *μέλλω* being put into the imperfect, or by the infinitive dependent on it being put into the aorist.

I incline to the opinion however that in the latest parts of Homer the correct construction of μέλλω with present was becoming lost. For in K. 454 I find it very hard to believe that λίσσεσθαι can be a future, and prefer to think it another of the innumerable tokens that K is very late in date. An equally incorrect use of the present is to be found in the *Hymn to the Pythian Apollo*, 201, which may very likely be as old as K. *Batrachomyomachia* 85 appears to be another instance of the same thing.

In τ. 95 εἴρεσθαι must be changed to ἐρέεσθαι: see Leaf on Ψ. 773. But about ι. 475 it is very difficult to decide. For οὐκ ἄρ' ἔμελλες ἔδμεναι may there mean *thou wert not likely to be now eating*, for now eating them the Cyclops would have been but for the μῆτις ἀμύμων of Odysseus; or ἔδμεναι may possibly be future, which is certainly the tense we should expect, in spite of ἔδμεναι being so often used as a present—if ἔδομαι is *I shall eat*, ἔδμεναι might conceivably surely be used for a future; or lastly this may be another instance of the later use appearing in Homer, which for myself I cannot believe as it is in the genuine *Odyssey*.

(II.) μέλλω with aorist. This use has been very inadequately noticed, not to say utterly ignored, though in Homer it is very clear. Root-meaning: *I am like to have acted in such a way*, or *I probably have acted*. Owing to the prevalent misconception of this construction, I will give a list of all the instances: N. 777, Π. 46 (?), Σ. 98, 362, Ω. 46, δ. 181, 377, ξ. 133, χ. 322. For instance, the passage which drew my attention to it, ξ. 133:

> τοῦ δ' ἤδη μέλλουσι κύνες ταχέες τ' οἰωνοὶ
> ῥινὸν ἀπ' ὀστεόφιν ϝερύσαι,

dogs and birds have already belike torn. Hence comes the meaning *I must have*, δ. 377: μέλλω ἀλιτέσθαι, *I must have offended.* Or *I confess I may have*, N. 777: ἐρωῆσαι πολέμοιο μέλλω. Or in a gnomic use, Σ. 362: καὶ μὲν δή πού τις μέλλει βροτὸς ἀνδρὶ τελέσσαι, *a man may have done it before now.* Compare Ω. 46: μέλλει μέν πού τις καὶ φίλτερον ἄλλον ὀλέσσαι.

Two passages require special attention. Π. 46:

> ὣς φάτο λισσόμενος μέγα νήπιος· ἦ γὰρ ἔμελλε
> ῾ϝοῖ αὐτῷ θάνατόν τε κακὸν καὶ κῆρα λιτέσθαι.

If the aorist is right, the meaning is: *he was like to have been praying for death in what he had just said.* If we read λίτεσθαι, *he was like to be praying.* Both give practically the same sense.

Σ. 96—99:

> "αὐτίκα γάρ τοι ἔπειτα μεθ' Ἕκτορα πότμος ἑτοῖμος."
> τὴν δὲ μέγ' ὀχθήσας προσέφη πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς·
> "αὐτίκα τεθναίην, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἄρ' ἔμελλον ἑταίρῳ
> κτεινομένῳ ἐπαμῦναι."

"You must die immediately after Hector," says Thetis. Achilles answers: "Then *may* I die immediately after, since otherwise it appears I was destined not to *have avenged* Patroclus." The words οὐκ ἄρ' ἔμελλον refer to the future time when Hector shall be already dead, and Patroclus thereby *has been* avenged. Achilles throws his mind forward to this time, and is looking back upon the vengeance which he imagines as already completed. This is why the aorist is here used; it is not for the future as in Attic verse.

The false construction with this tense came in early: Hesiod *Theogony* 478, ὁππότ' ἄρ' ὁπλοτάτην παίδων ἤμελλε τεκέσθαι (where ἤμελλε also is an un-Homeric form), *Shield* 126, ὁππότ' ἔμελλε τοπρῶτον στονόεντας ἐφορμήσασθαι ἀέθλους (if this is the right reading).

(III.) μέλλω with future. This being the simplest and most familiar use, I shall not linger over it. Root-meaning: *I am about to do*, the future time being denoted not in any way by μέλλω, but by the future infinitive. Hence (β) *I am thinking of doing, I mean to do,* (γ) *I am destined to do.* διεξίμεναι and νέεσθαι are of course both futures; I have seen the latter classed as a present with μέλλω.

One passage calls for notice, δ. 274:

> ἦλθες ἔπειτα σὺ κεῖσε· κελευσέμεναι δέ σ' ἔμελλε
> δαίμων, ὃς Τρώεσσιν ἐβούλετο κῦδος ὀρέξαι.

Helen came to the wooden horse not because she was *going to be* prompted by a spirit, but because either she *had been* or *was then being* prompted by one. Consequently either *κελευσέμεναι* is a mixed aorist like *ἐβήσετο, ἀξέμεν*[1], or else, which is more probable, we should read *κελευέμεναι* with La Roche's B and Ludwich's D. For no one who has studied Homeric MSS for any time can think anything of their authority on such an infinitesimal detail.

The truth here stated has been groped after before; it has been in the very fingers of every one who has written on *μέλλω* and yet has somehow eluded them. So Schol. A, quoted by Ebeling, says on Π. 46: *ἔμελλεν λίτεσθαι. ἡ διπλῆ ὅτι καὶ νῦν τὸ ἔμελλε σαφῶς οὐκ ἐπὶ χρόνον. οὐ γὰρ ἔμελλε λιτανεύσειν ἀλλ' ἐλιτάνευσεν* (*ἐλιτάνευεν*?). *ἔστι δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐῴκει.* The ancients then knew perfectly well that *μέλλω* had in itself nothing to do with time, and yet they never grasped the real construction. So Buttmann again rightly argued that the sense shews *ἀρήμεναι* in *χ*. 322 to be aorist; if this had been followed up, how could the reading of Ψ. 773 and *ρ*. 412 ever have been doubtful? Yet in Ψ. 773 where Wolf introduced the impossible *ἐπαΐξασθαι* from A with other MSS, this reading was printed by Hentze (Teubner ed.) in 1885; Bekker, Cobet and Leaf rightly reject it. And in *ρ*. 413 nearly all MSS give *γεύσασθαι*, which is read by La Roche and defended by Grashof, though an inkling of the truth has prompted nearly all editors to give the true *γεύσεσθαι*. Had the real aorist construction been understood there could have been no doubt of the reading; this use alone remained to be clearly stated and this is all that I claim as original; that the rest was pretty well understood may be seen from Dr Leaf's note on Ψ. 773.

The forms in *-ασθαι* and *-εσθαι* are perpetually confused in the MSS of Homer. We have seen two instances above; in *δ*. 181 again, where the future is right (*the gods were going to be jealous of this*), several MSS have *ἀγάσσασθαι*. In *ι*. 379 there is strong authority for *ἅψασθαι*, which is nonsense.

Attic Use. These distinctions, as every one knows, were obliterated in Attic, the present and future and in verse the aorist being indifferently used in the future sense. It follows from what has been said that the future is (historically) the correct use, the other two being wrongly attracted to the same meaning. There is no reduplication of future sense in *μέλλω ἔσεσθαι*, because *μέλλω* in itself has properly no connexion with one time more than another.

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[1] And *οἴσειν* in Pindar *Pyth.* iv. 102; cp. *οἶσε* the imperative.

Platonic Use. After looking at the collection of instances given by Schanz in his edition of the *Symposium* (p. vii.) I am compelled to believe that Plato did commit the *ἔσχατον ἁμάρτημα* of using the aorist; it must be put down as one of his poeticisms. But a careful study of the passages referred to appears to me to reveal a peculiarity in the usage. Take *Laws* 713 A: *Ἆρ' οὖν μύθῳ σμικρά γ' ἔτι προσχρηστέον, εἰ μέλλομεν ἐμμελῶς πως δηλῶσαι τὸ νῦν ἐρωτώμενον;* Here we translate "if we *are to* shew," in fact *μέλλομεν δηλῶσαι = δεῖ δηλῶσαι* pretty nearly. The same remark applies to *Symposium* 184 D, *Politicus* 268 D (there is some mistake about Schanz's other reference to the *Politicus*), 1 *Alcib.* 132 D, 133 B, *Protagoras* 345 B, *Republic* 491 B, *Laws* 811 A, *Critias* 108 B, *Gorgias* 525 A. But I doubt whether it can be made to apply to 2 *Alcib.* 141 C, 150 E, *Eryxias* 396 B, *Gorgias* 512 E, though, as all but the last are from spurious dialogues, this is no matter, and in the last we may certainly say that *δεῖ βιῶναι* exactly suits the sense instead of *μέλλοι βιῶναι*: it is merely a question whether we translate *the time which he is going to live* or *the time which he is to live.* Viewed the preceding passages, it seems better to say that the latter of the two versions is here the true one. In *Ep.* 320 D the construction is right from the Platonic standpoint, but in *Ep.* 315 D, 326 C it is downright wrong and no excuse can be made for it. That the only two clearly wrong uses are from the *Epistles* is considerable evidence that the general rule is a good one. But I have no right yet to say that they are the only two, for there remains *Protagoras* 312 B to be dealt with. *Οἶσθα οὖν ὃ μέλλεις νῦν πράττειν, ἤ σε λανθάνει; ἦν δ' ἐγώ. Τοῦ πέρι; Ὅτι μέλλεις τὴν ψυχὴν τὴν σαυτοῦ παρασχεῖν θεραπεῦσαι ἀνδρί, ὡς φῄς, σοφιστῇ.* Here *μέλλεις παρασχεῖν* means *you are going to entrust*, and therefore the aorist is un-Platonic; I have no hesitation in saying that we ought to read παρεχειν which is very near to παρασχειν; look too at the *πράττειν* just above. If παρεχειν were by accident written παρσχειν, the rest follows as a matter of course. But then I am *ἀνὴρ σοφιστής, θεραπεύων* a theory; however considering the great number of times that Plato uses *μέλλω* with present and future, where the meaning is *not* like that of δεῖ, I cannot but think there is something in this view. So too it is hardly accidental that in so many of the passages in question the verb is preceded by *εἰ*, as in *Laws* 713 quoted above. It is just in these hypothetical sentences that we get this use of *μέλλω*, "*if* we *are to* shew." I fail to perceive any distinction between the present and future in Plato. For the rest, I leave the reading of *Politicus* 301 A and *Phaedrus* 247 D to be decided by *οἷς προσήκει*[1].

Did Aristotle ever use the aorist? I have seen no instance from him which is not a clear corruption. I take this opportunity of observing that I was egregiously mistaken in a note in the *Classical Review* (vol. V. p. 185) on the use of *μέλλω* in Aristotle compared with the *Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία*, to which I was misled by what I thought a safe authority.

Derivation. It is clear that in considering the derivation of a word we must look to the use of it in the earliest authors in whom it is found. Considering then the Homeric use of *μέλλω*, we may be very sure that the central idea of the word is simply *I am likely to do*, whether in past, present or future; hence flow naturally the other later meanings, *to intend, to delay.* Now though this in itself throws no light on the derivation, it ought at least to make us cautious of connecting *μέλλω* with any root meaning *I have a mind to do* or *I intend.* How can the construction with the aorist possibly be derived from this? It would be equally perverse and preposterous to derive the other meanings from the specially Attic sense of *I delay.* That in truth nothing is really known about it may be judged from the fact that three distinct derivations are before the world, two of which presumably are wrong and very probably the third also.

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[1] If Plato thus certainly used one construction which is not pure Attic, it is hardly safe to assert that any other which the grammarians for instance deny is necessarily impossible for him. Thus it is rash to be too positive that he never used the future with *ἄν*, though it would be rasher still perhaps to say that he ever did.

One may also infer that the tenses of the infinitive are generally somewhat more differentiated in Homer than they are in Attic, though to shew how far they may be so would call for a long enquiry, and may after all lead to no result.

ARTHUR PLATT.

CATULLUS XI., HORACE ODES II. VI.

"SEPTIMI Gades aditure mecum," etc. Was Horace here imitating Catullus, as I believe is generally assumed[1]? He has nowhere else done anything of the kind. There is another possibility, that both Latin poets were imitating the same original, and what that original was may be seen from Horace pretty plainly. "Lasso maris et viarum militiaeque"! The fat contented little Horace, was *he* this great traveller and warrior and seafarer? He must have laughed as he wrote those words of himself; it was not he but Alcaeus who sang and suffered "dura navis dura fugae mala dura belli." It is just one of the best instances of Horace's peculiar humour that he should apply all this with mock gravity to his own very different character. We know that elsewhere he has literally translated Alcaeus, as *μηδὲν ἄλλο φυτεύσῃς πρότερον δένδρεον ἀμπέλω*, and so here he seems to be following him closely. Comparing then the two odes of Catullus and Horace we may feel sure that each in his own way has adapted a sapphic ode of (probably) Alcaeus to his own purposes. Alcaeus, one cannot doubt, expressed a wish very like that of Horace. He addressed some friend who would be willing to follow him to the ends of that early Greek world, to Massalia perhaps or Naucratis, for the west and Africa are the two regions suggested by Horace; and then went on to say that some much nearer place was all required, such as Cos or Mitylene. Horace has adapted this to his own case, keeping pretty close to the original to judge from appearances, and especially from that "lasso maris," etc.

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[1] Thus Ellis in his *Commentary on Catullus* rejects Näke's view of the true character of Catullus's address to Furius and Aurelius, a view which is surely substantially correct, producing *no* actual objection to it except this imaginary imitation by Horace.

Catullus also here well exhibits his own peculiar qualities. Taking his text from the opening of the Alcaean ode, he gives vent to irony and sarcasm against Furius and Aurelius and against the Triumvirate then in power, talking of going to Egypt, Syria or Gaul, "as if he too expected one of the vacant posts from one of the regents" (Mommsen, *Hist. Rom.* iv. 321): then mingles pathos and humour with the half absurd, half bitter message which he finally entrusts to his "comites." Manifestly he has only taken a hint from the Greek and turned it to an altogether different purpose.

Compare especially the end of the first stanza in both poets; we may be sure that we have here a direct adaptation from the original.

ARTHUR PLATT.

PALAEOGRAPHICA III.

A GROUP OF NINTH-CENTURY GREEK MANUSCRIPTS.

THIS paper is a contribution to our knowledge of the conditions under which books were produced during the early middle ages. It aims at exhibiting a number of manuscripts, at present dispersed over Europe, and containing no external evidence of their origin, as the outcome of one period of culture and one place of production.

Many manuscripts, of both profane and sacred authors, contain subscriptions or other indications, which state the place and time of their production, and not unfrequently it happens that such manuscripts fall into groups, according to the century when, and the place where, they were written. But the number of these signed and dated MSS., compared to the multitude that have come to us with the bare text of the author, is insignificant. To bring some order into this mass of books, which are to us disconnected, but which in their origin must have in many points coincided, is one of the most fruitful directions in which technical palaeography may be exercised.

Hitherto very slight results have been arrived at, in the matter of Greek manuscripts. Among Latin and Western hands diversities of national writing have long been recognised, and even a Greek text written by a Western scribe is easily detected. But within the province of Greek itself, the influence of locality and circumstance upon writing has hardly been discerned. The region where there are most data upon which to build, is South Italy and Sicily. The Abbé Batiffol, in his lately published *Abbaye de Rossano*, has made a great step towards tracing the type of South-Italian Greek writing. Prof. Gardthausen also has tried to establish differences of hand due to particular localities (e.g. in *Différences provinciales de la minuscule grecque, Mélanges Graux*, p. 731 sq.). Compare also Omont, *Revue des Études grecques*, 1888, p. 336 sq. (on the MS. Paris grec 598 of the year 1050). But the inquiry as yet has been carried on over a small field, and there are few persons who would care to pronounce upon the place of origin of a MS. from the mere evidence of its hand.

The question that I am now proposing has a narrower scope than the discussions to which I allude, inasmuch as when all the agreements and differences between the manuscripts have been stated and weighed, there is nothing to lead to any conclusion about the place of origin. All, with regard to locality, that can be said is that, wherever these MSS. were written, they were written at the same time and in the same place.

The MSS. in question are nine:

1. Paris grec 1807. Plato; membr. 14 × 9½ in., ff. 344 in 2 columns, 44 lines.
2. Paris grec 1962. Max. Tyr. philosophumena, Alcinous de Plat. dogmat.; membr. 10 × 6½ in., ff. 175, 33 lines.
3. Heidelberg, University Library, Palatinus 398. Misc. prose writers, Xen., Arrian, Plut., Parthenius, Ant. Liberalis, Phlegon, &c.; membr. 10 × 6¾ in., 33 lines.
4. Venetus Marc. 196. Olympiodorus in Plat. membr., 11 × 7 in., ff. 337, 33 lines.
5. Ven. 226[1]. Simplicius in Ar. Phys., membr. 10½ × 7½ in., ff. 382, ll. 33.
6. Ven. 246. Damascius in Parmen., membr. 10½ × 7 in., ff. 435, ll. 33.
7. Ven. 258. Alex. Aphrod., scholia ethica, etc., membr. 7½ × 5 in., ff. 324, ll. 28.
8. Laur. 80. 9. Proclus in Plat. rempubl., membr. 10½ × 7 in., ff. 165, ll. 33.
9. Vat. 2197 (Colonna 36). id., membr. 10¾ × 7 in., ff. 200, ll. 33.

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[1] Ven. 236, s. x., which contains Philoponus against Proclus, does not seem to belong to this series.

Similarities between certain of these MSS. have been noticed by various scholars. Ven. 246 is the subject of a paper by Ch. E. Ruelle in the *Mélanges Graux*, Paris, 1884, p. 547 sq., where a facsimile of one page is given, with a letter from the late Charles Graux, in which he asserts the identity of this MS., the Plato grec 1807, and the Palatine 398; on p. 568 it is stated that Graux had intended to deal with the relations of these MSS. generally. It is another loss that the world has sustained in his death. In the same volume, p. 567 sq., Ven. 258 is treated by Ivo Bruns. Similarities between the Plato and the Palatine MS. were noticed by Bast, who uses both MSS. largely in his *Commentatio Palaeographica* (esp. p. 855—861, 'miscellaneae observationes de codicibus graecis in universum, specialiterque de vetusto cod. Palat. 398'). A roughly executed facsimile of a page of Pal. 398 is given by Wattenbach, *Schrifttafeln zur Geschichte der griech. Schrift*, pl. 1. The two MSS. Laur. 80. 9 and Vat. 2197 are described and their identity asserted, by the late Cardinal Pitra, in his *Analecta sacra et classica*, 1888 praef. p. xv sq., with a facsimile of Vat. 2197.

These books agree in their age, which may be set down as the end of the IXth or the beginning of the Xth century, and in certain other well-defined palaeographical qualities.

I. External arrangement or composition.

The books, with the exception of the Plato, which is by far the finest and most important of the series, and of Ven. 258, are of the same size, a quarto of about eleven by eight inches, before they were trimmed. They are all arranged in gathers of four sheets, ruled upon the tan-side, and signed (where the signature is preserved) in semi-uncial letters at the top outside corner of the first page. The number of lines upon each page varies with the size of the book, from 44 in the Plato to 28 in Ven. 258, the normal number is 33. The writing is usually below the line, but in Ven. 226 stands upon it.

The MSS. possess also a marked peculiarity, which at once catches the attention—that of being furnished with signs, critical, explanatory or illustrative. These are the obelus, plain and dotted diple, plain and dotted asterisk, coronis. The signification of these signs is discussed by Pitra l. c. They are not critical in the sense of the Aristarchean signs, but correspond to the inverted commas and other mechanical expedients of printing. Cf. also Bast upon these usages in Par. 1807 and Pal. 398, l. c. p. 860.

These signs, though far from in common use, at least on as large a scale as in these manuscripts, still are found elsewhere. Another sign seems peculiar to this group. The nine MSS. have the common characteristic of being accurately written, and among the signs of this care are the lacunas that occur here and there in the text. Sometimes they are left blank, more often the space is filled up by a row of ordinary obeli, obeli dotted, or a curious sort of double obelus, dotted (—, ÷,). These signs occur both in the text and in the scholia. Bast, l. c. p. 853, notices them in Pal. 398, Pitra finds them in the Vatican and Laurentian MSS. The latter observes that they are found without any trace of erasure. This is not invariably true even in Vat. 2197, often the vellum in the place where the sign stands exhibits a broken surface. No doubt in the one case the scribe saw that what he had written was wrong, erased it, and filled the gap with marks, to warn any reader from filling it with a makeshift; in the other, he found a lacuna in his archetype, or a corruption that he would not take the risk of reproducing.

Slighter signs of the care expended in the production of these MSS. are the uniformity and regularity of the accents and breathings, which are seldom wanting. In some cases, from a difference of tint in the ink one may infer that they have been added after the page was copied out. Again, iota in MSS. of this age is naturally adscribed; but where it has been left out, the scribe adds it above. This mark of care and revision gives, by its frequency, almost a character to the book[1].

II. Character of the Writing.

The writing of all nine books is strongly marked. It is an upright, careful minuscule, somewhat set back, inclining more or less to the left, the letters handsome and carefully formed.

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[1] The category of *iota superscriptum*, which Gardthausen (*Gr. Pal.* pp. 193, 203), following Schanz, seems to wish to establish, is based upon a mere misapprehension. Such iotas, where they occur, are probably always cases of *omission*, and are added, like any other omitted letter, above the line.

The most distinctive mark is that in the formation of nearly every letter, the pen dwells upon the beginning and end of a stroke, and tends to make a spot or notch at these points. This is a feature that in different degrees runs through the whole group, in the minuscule of the text and the semi-uncial of the margin. It adds an air of formality to the letters, and gives an impression of deliberate writing.

The semi-uncial of the headings and margins is equally characteristic. The letters are low, squat, and massive. They lie along the line, spread out. Lambda is so flattened, and the downstrokes are connected by so long a bar, that it resembles *π*. It should be said that there are several hands, two or three at least, concerned in the writing of the scholia in these books. The description I give applies to one only of them, namely to that of the Plato, a hand that occurs in several other of the MSS., e.g. in Ven. 226. In most MSS. the scholia (semi-uncial) are written by the hand of the text.

Another characteristic point is the shape of the accents and breathings. Breathings are not so much square as notched; they seem to be made in one stroke. Both breathings and accents lie flat or nearly so upon the words in the text, and present to the eye a curious effect of a flight of arrows or bolts. The circumflex is obtuse-angled, as if made of two strokes instead of in the usual circle-fashion.

The type of writing, considered in itself, is a fine one. The hand of the Plato and its cognates is as handsome minuscule as has come down to us. At the same time the careful embellishment of the letters may suggest too clearly conscious effort, and taken together with the rather grotesque marginalia, detracts, perhaps, from the simplicity that is the property of the finest minuscule.

III. The nine MSS. agree further in possessing some peculiarities of abbreviation. The symbol V for *αι*, which is rare in ordinary MSS., and particularly in MSS. so slightly contracted as these, was quoted by Bast, l. c. p. 755, from Paris 1807. I have not found it in Pal. 398, Vat. 2197 or Ven. 196, but it occurs in Par. 1962 (f. 170 v. *προηγούμεναι*), Ven. 226 (f. 44 v. *ἐπιφαινόμεναι*), Ven. 246 (f. 109 v. *ἀπορίαι*), Ven. 258 (f. 118 r.

ἀμυδραί), Laur. 80. 9 (f. 149 v. *κινούμεναι*). Other peculiarities are the early use of " for *αις*, the angular form of *εἶναι*, of *ἄρα* and *παρά*, and a characteristic form of *ως*. (Instances of some of these signs are given in 'Notes on Greek Abbreviations' s. vv.)

These considerations, the agreement in size, external arrangement, character of hand, and system of abbreviation, lead me to regard the nine MSS. as having been written in the same place, under the same circumstances, and at the same time. The question then arises, do these coincidences amount to identity? are these similarities the mark of the work of a single man? I am well aware of the difficulty that inheres in any question of identity or difference as between two pieces of writing, and of the great caution that is needful in trusting even well-pondered impressions. In the present case, however, the writing is clearly defined and palpable, and the agreements between the MSS. are so many, that the differences are the more unmistakeably appreciated.

I accept Graux' identification of the hands of Par. 1807, Pal. 398 and Ven. 246, and add to them Par. 1962. These four are the work of the same scribe.

Pitra has maintained that Laur. 80. 9 and Vat. 2197 are fragments of one and the same book, basing his conclusion upon the evidence of the quires: and in this I agree. The hand however is not that of the Paris Plato. It is like it, more so than the hands of any of the other manuscripts, but it is not the same. It, while calligraphic, is more inclined to the left, there is less difference between the up and down strokes, and the figure described by the letters is more quadrilateral. Far more is this hand distinct from those of the remaining MSS.

The hand of Ven. 196 is strongly sloped to the left, markedly angular, notched, and uncalligraphic. It is the least handsome of all the handwritings that we are considering. Ven. 226 is written in a regular calligraphic hand, the letters are perfectly vertical, and their shape is round: they are rather smaller than those of Ven. 196, and noticeably smaller than those of the Paris Plato. This hand approaches nearest to the character of ordinary minuscule.

Ven. 258 was thought by Graux (Bruns, l. c. p. 568) to bear a great resemblance to Par. 1807, but to be slightly more recent. In spite of so great authority, I must say that I attach little weight to the occurrence of uncial forms in a MS. as a criterion of its age, and I see no reason to post-date Ven. 258. On the other hand the writing is a great deal smaller and more fluent than that of any other of the MSS., the abbreviations are much more numerous[1]—obvious differences that are sufficient to distinguish the MS. as the work of a separate scribe.

Accordingly I arrange the nine MSS. as the work of five scribes:

1. Paris 1807 and 1962, Pal. 398, Ven. 246.
2. Vat. 2197, Laur. 80. 9.
3. Ven. 196.
4. Ven. 226.
5. Ven. 258.

It will be noticed how preponderating a share the scribe of the Paris Plato takes in the production of these MSS. When we further consider that he writes marginal scholia to Ven. 196 and 226, we may be inclined to see in him the directing scribe, perhaps the elder, in the scriptorium. If this were so, it would further explain the slightly older character of the hand of the Plato and its brethren compared to that of the other five.

To this extent inferences are justified from the evidence of the manuscripts themselves; no other evidence exists. We see that nine MSS., at present dispersed over Europe, were written about the end of the IXth century by five persons, whose similarity of method and hand warrants us in imagining them to have worked under the same influences and tradition. They were evidently professional: from circumstances that we do not know they produced copies of prose writers, and, in all but one instance, of philosophical writers. They are a witness to the fact that at their epoch there was a public eager for such studies. They suggest a comparison with a contemporary series of ancient prose authors, Plato, Aristotle, Lucian, Euclid, Clement of Alexandria, written by different scribes, but the property of one man, Arethas of Patrae, afterwards Bishop of Caesarea. But while the writers of these MSS. have provided for the survival of their names and countries, the five writers whose productions we have considered, are known to us only by the fact of their work and the manner in which they performed it.

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[1] Beside the syllables mentioned on p. 53, it has signs for ἀπό, ἔσται, ἥλιος, and the syllable αρ; and is also remarkable as having the later form of the symbols for ιν and ις.

T. W. ALLEN.

IMPERIUM CONSULARE AND PROCONSULARE.

In Vol. XVII. No. 33 (pp. 27—52) there appeared an admirable article by Prof. Pelham on "Some disputed points connected with the 'Imperium' of Augustus and his successors," in which a view is adopted with regard to the 'proconsulare imperium' held by Augustus which I think is entirely new, and which differs both from Mommsen and also from Herzog. I had hoped indeed that the latter, in his 'System der Verfassung der Kaiserzeit,' would have noticed this new theory, and either accepted it or given some sufficient reason for retaining Mommsen's view. He has not however done so, and I think we must infer that he has not seen the article in question, for the case seems to be put and supported there with so much consistency and cogency, that even if it came from an authority much less deserving of attention than Prof. Pelham it would have demanded some recognition.

For my own part I was at first convinced that the new view was correct, and it is only since I have gone into the question more carefully in connexion with Herzog's new volume, that I have found some stumbling-blocks in it, which make me think that Prof. Pelham has strained rather too far the continuity between the constitutional theory of the republic and the practical usage of the empire. The point in question is this. The ordinary view, at any rate since the publication of Mommsen's *Staatsrecht* (see especially ii. p. 834, n. 3), is that in the beginning of 27 B.C. when Augustus, as he himself says (Mon. Anc. Lat. 6, 13), 'transferred the republic from his own power to the disposal of the senate and people,' he received back for a period of 10 years the 'proconsulare imperium,' i.e. the command of the army throughout the empire, the direct control over the so-called imperial provinces, and probably certain rights over the senatorial provinces in financial matters and in connexion with any troops quartered there: that for purposes of domestic government he intended annually to assume the consulship, which not only invested him with the *prestige* of the chief magistracy, but gave him certain definite rights, such as that of convoking and prior reference in the senate, etc., while he employed the 'tribunicia potestas,' as Tacitus says, *ad tuendam plebem*, and no doubt for certain subordinate purposes of domestic administration. In 23 B.C., however, for reasons about which there is practically no dispute, he laid down the consulship, while retaining the *proconsulare imperium*, the termination of which would only arrive at the end of 18 B.C., while in order to replace the loss of power caused by the resignation of the consulship (*a*) he gave greater prominence and importance to the *tribunicia potestas*, which now became 'summi fastigii vocabulum,' and (*b*) received from the senate certain special privileges, such as the consular right of prior reference and that of convoking the senate at pleasure (Dio Cass. 53, 32), while (*c*) in 19 B.C. he received the consular fasces and insignia according to Mommsen's interpretation of a passage of Dio (54, 10), and on two separate occasions in 8 B.C. and 13 A.D. he received a special grant of the *consulare imperium* for the purpose of taking the census (Mon. Ancyr. L. 2, 5 and 8; Momms. *Staatsr.* ii. p. 836). To this view with its distinction between the *consulare* and the *proconsulare imperium* Prof. Pelham objects that it breaks the continuity with republican usage, according to which the proconsular imperium was merely the consular imperium held by a man who was not consul, but was acting *pro consule*: that the notion that the consular authority had by the end of the republic become in law as well as in fact an urban, domestic and civil authority is a mistaken one: that the actual *provincia* of the consuls indeed was usually confined to Rome, but constitutionally it might still be extended to any part of the empire, and so take the form of the old *imperium infinitum* (Momms. *Staatsr.* i. p. 52, n. 7), in which case they would possess the *majus imperium* over all provincial proconsuls: that in point of fact Augustus revived this theory and put it into practice, and from 27—23 B.C. governed the imperial provinces, not by any *proconsulare imperium*, but as consul, with more than half the empire for his province, while in the case of the senatorial provinces also he had the consular *majus imperium* over the senatorial proconsuls. When in 23 B.C. he laid down the consulship, he retained the *consulare imperium*, and as he retained it *pro consule*, it was usually called 'proconsulare imperium,' but it was really only the consular imperium held by one who was not consul, and by a special exemption he was allowed to hold this consular imperium within the city (Dio Cass. 53, 32), and hence, without any special grant, he could say 'consulari cum imperio lustrum solus egi,' i.e. the consular imperium by which he took the census was the same as the so-called proconsular imperium by which he governed the provinces (p. 29): that in fine he had one imperium only, and that in strict continuity with republican theory was the 'consulare imperium.' But by laying down the consulship, Augustus had lost certain privileges which were attached to it and also its external *prestige*: accordingly the special privileges alluded to above were granted to him in compensation and also the consular insignia and fasces. But it was not only in Rome, Prof. Pelham points out, but in the provinces also that the loss of the consulship involved loss of power. As consul he had the *majus imperium* over the proconsuls of the senatorial provinces: but as holder *pro consule* of the *consulare imperium*, though he was still supreme over the legates of his own provinces, he possessed only an *aequum imperium* with the other proconsuls, just as Pompeius did as the result of the Gabinian law (Vell. Paterc. ii. 31), and it was to reinstate him in his former position in regard to these provinces, that another special privilege mentioned by Dio Cassius (*l. c.*) was given to him by the senate *ἐν τῷ ὑπηκόῳ τὸ πλεῖον τῶν ἑκασταχόθι ἀρχόντων ἰσχύειν*.

No doubt, as I have said, there is something tempting about the consistency of this theory, and its apparent continuity with republican institutions: but I think it should be observed that it is really a continuity only with the prae-Sullan republic.

After the time of Sulla the consular imperium was with the fewest exceptions (as e.g. Liv. *ep.* 93 and 94: Dio Cass. 35, 2) an *imperium domi.* Prof. Pelham is probably right in doubting the existence of any law to which this change can be ascribed, but the Roman constitutional system was full of possible revivals, which however as a matter of fact never interfered with what had grown up by the force of constant usage, and as a matter of usage and custom, the consulship had certainly lost its connexion with the *imperium militiae* in the provinces. Nor is it entirely correct to say absolutely without qualification as to period or usage that the proconsular imperium was only the consular imperium held by a person who was not consul, but acting *pro consule.* No doubt in republican times the *consulare imperium* was often prorogued to a consul after his office was over to enable him to finish a war (Liv. 8, 23, 12, etc.), and no doubt it was also conferred by delegation on some of the provincial praetores, especially in Spain and Asia (Momms. *Staatsr.* ii. p. 628 foll.: conf. ii. 234, n. 1), who therefore commonly took the title of proconsules: and sometimes in exceptional circumstances on *privati,* as on Pompeius for the Sertorian war (Liv. *ep.* 91), and again against the pirates by the Gabinian law. But even from the first there was a certain distinction between this prorogued or delegated *consulare imperium*, which was only and essentially an *imperium militiae*, and the full imperium held by the acting consul, which was potentially both *domi* and *militiae.* In the course of time this distinction grew more strongly marked (1) by the custom of confining the consuls to urban duties, (2) by the interval of five years, which by a senatus consultum of 701 (Dio Cass. 40, 46) and the lex Pompeia of the following year (id. 40, 56, conf. 53, 14 and Suet. *Aug.* 36), was made necessary between the consulship and a provincial command. The real effect of these two changes was not only to alter the constitutional character of the consulship, but to abolish the promagisterial character of the proconsulship, to make it in fact a distinct magistracy, with distinct duties, always provincial, of its own, a definite mode of appointment and a fixed duration. So Mommsen (*Staatsr.* ii. p. 233) says, "Diese Bezeichnungen dienen jetzt nicht mehr, wie in der

Republik, zur Unterscheidung der ordentlichen Magistratur von der prorogirten, mandirten oder ausserordentlichen, sondern zur Unterscheidung des Provinzialamts von den städtischen Oberämtern." The fact that a constitutional purist like Cicero can still say "omnes enim in consulis jure et imperio debent esse provinciae" (Phil. iv. 9: conf. also ad Att. viii. 15) is, I think, of small importance in the face of established and practically unbroken usage, and indeed Cicero himself in accordance with this usage is ready enough to reproach Antonius as τὴν πόλιν ἐν τῷ τῆς ὑπατείας χρόνῳ ἐκλιπών (Dio Cass. 45, 20). On the other hand the original theory of delegated consular authority for the proconsuls still remains visible in the phrase 'consulare imperium,' which, as both Mommsen (*Staatsr.* ii. p. 628, n. 1) and Pelham point out, is attributed to them by republican writers, *proconsulare imperium* not being used, so far as I know, by any writer earlier than Livy.

Under the principate both these tendencies have, it seems to me, become absolute rules. The consulship is strictly an 'urban, domestic and civil' office (Dio Cass. 53, 14, μετὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἄρξαι). I don't think there is a single instance of a consul, as such, governing a province or commanding an army, and the fact that we do find instances, and Dio Cassius (53, 14) implies that they were not infrequent, of consuls holding a provincial government during their year of office (Henz. 6483; C. I. L. iii. 1171 and 1177, see Momms. *Staatsr.* i. p. 497), really proves the rule conclusively, because they govern the provinces, not as consuls, but as legati pr. pr. or as proconsuls, the consulship and the provincial government being held simultaneously but independently of one another. To this we may add the significant fact that wherever *consulare imperium* occurs in imperial times it is used in connexion with urban matters, as e.g. in the Mon. Ancyr. *loc. cit.* in regard to the census, Dio Cass. 60, 23 with reference to triumphal games, while Tacitus (Hist. iv. 3) says that the *consulare imperium* was given to Domitian, together with the *praetura urbana*, clearly with the purpose of fulfilling the urban duties of the consuls, Vespasian and Titus, who were both absent from Rome, and certainly not with the idea of giving him any command over the provinces or the troops, since we know that the secondary *proconsulare imperium* could not be held within the city (Tac. Ann. i. 14, xii. 41, etc.). The only exception to this use of 'consulare imperium' (it is noticed by Prof. Pelham) is the case of Pliny, who was sent out to Bithynia as legatus pro praetore...consulari potestate. This is no doubt a difficulty, but it is probably to be met, as Mommsen meets it, by the suggestion that the consular power involved an augmentation of insignia only, but not an augmentation of competence. On the other hand the proconsulship had no less clearly changed its original character. At first and strictly only those provincial governors were *pro consule* who had a military province with armies to command (comp. the case of Spain, and see Momms. *Staatsr.* ii. p. 638). Now on the contrary the proconsuls are those provincial governors who have no military authority whatever, and therefore the attribution to them of consular imperium seems altogether inapplicable, and in point of fact I believe that it ceases and is replaced by the phrase 'proconsulare imperium.' Thus Valerius Maximus, clearly from the usage of his own time, uses the phrase even in connexion with republican proconsuls, e.g. T. Aufidius (6, 9, 7) and P. Dolabella (8, 1 amb. 2), though Cicero would certainly have said 'consulari imperio' (see pro Flacc. 34, 85; de prov. cons. 7, 15, etc.), while the same phrase is used equally incorrectly in Liv. *ep.* 91 of Pompey's Sertorian command. So that under the principate I think we are justified in saying that the *consulare imperium* was purely *domi*, and the *proconsulare imperium* was purely *militiae*, that they were not one and the same and that they did not overlap.

Speaking generally, then, I think we must admit that under the empire the *proconsulare imperium* was not merely the *consulare imperium* held by one who was not consul. Is there any reason to think that the case was different with the emperors themselves that Augustus ever governed the provinces and the army as consul, or that his so-called proconsular imperium, by being allowed to be retained within the city, ever amounted to the *consulare imperium domi*?

(1) Did Augustus govern the provinces from 27—23 B.C. as consul? Strong negative evidence seems to be furnished by the

purely urban character of the consulship at other periods under the empire, nor surely will Prof. Pelham maintain that emperors like Vespasian and Domitian, who frequently assumed the consulship, during the years of their consulships governed the provinces as consuls and in other years by their 'imperium proconsulare.' But to be consistent he must maintain this. For he says (p. 35) 'this consular imperium (meaning over the provinces) he wielded from 27—23 as consul, just as Pompey had wielded his in 52.' But Pompey had had the proconsular command in Spain granted to him in 54, and granted for five years, and as he was allowed to exercise this entirely by his legates, he himself remained at Rome, and thus was able to hold the consulship in 52, thus combining the *imperium militiae* which he held *pro consule,* with the *imperium domi* which he held as consul, but certainly not, or at least what evidence is there for the assertion? wielding his power (over the provinces) as consul. (Momms. *Staatsr.* i. p. 498, ii. p. 233 n. 4.) But in the case of Augustus, I think there are positive arguments against Prof. Pelham's view. As consul, he must of course have been annually elected, have received his imperium for one year at a time, and his province, i.e. on Prof. Pelham's supposition the so-called imperial provinces assigned to him for the same time, and then re-assigned, whereas Dio Cassius (53, 13) says plainly enough, and Prof. Pelham accepts his statement, that the power by which Augustus commanded the provinces and the army was granted for 10 years. If this statement is correct, it seems certain that Augustus did not govern the provinces and army as consul, for no one will assert that the consulship was granted for 10 years. The consulships of Augustus therefore were no exception to the rule now prevalent about that office: they conferred an imperium used only for urban purposes, as e.g. the census (Mon. Ancyr. Lat. 8, 2), while the government of provinces and army was contained in the *imperium proconsulare*, which Dio Cassius calls by that name under 23 B.C. (53, 32), which is always so called in connexion with the destined successor, and which could never have been applied to the government of the city.

Moreover, if Professor Pelham's view has an attractive appearance of consistency in one direction, I think it is open to a charge of inconsistency in another. If, when Augustus ceased to be consul in 23 B.C., he was allowed not only to retain the consular imperium, but to retain it in the city, so that by its means he could e.g. take the census, it seems hard to understand what he really lost by giving up the consulship, or why it was necessary to confer on him either the special privileges of 23 B.C. which were to make up for the loss of the consulship, but would surely be contained in the consular imperium, or the consular insignia and fasces in 19 B.C., which again would certainly have been involved in the same imperium.

It seems, however, to me that when the senate allowed Augustus *τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν ἀνθύπατον...ἔχειν ὥστε μήτε ἐν τῇ ἐσόδῳ τοῦ πωμηρίου κατατίθεσθαι αὐτὴν, μήτ' αὖθις ἀνανεοῦσθαι*, it did not give him in any sense the *consulare imperium domi*, but simply allowed him to exercise his proconsular government of the provinces and army from the city, just as Pompeius had done during his five years' government of Spain, i.e. it affected not the range over which his imperium could be extended, but the locality from which it could be exercised. There was, therefore, no question of governing Rome by proconsular authority, which Prof. Pelham says was not yet possible, though I do not see how he reconciles with this statement the assertion of p. 24 that the consular imperium, in virtue of which Augustus held the census, was in fact no other than that by which he ruled the provinces and the legions, the so-called *imperium proconsulare*. Dio Cassius does indeed state (55, 13) that he did on one occasion take the census by the *proconsulare imperium*, but that is a statement which has hitherto been regarded as erroneous and indeed impossible (Momm. res gest. div. Aug. p. 37). Does not in fact Prof. Pelham, in saying that Rome could not be governed by proconsular authority, use the word in a somewhat ambiguous sense? If proconsular authority is merely consular authority held by a man who is not consul, and yet is allowed to hold it in Rome, there seems no reason why Rome should not be governed by it, as presumably it was to be by Domitian during the absence of his father and brother (Tac. Hist. iv. 3), and it is only in the other sense of proconsular, i.e. as relating to the provinces,—a meaning which Prof. Pelham apparently rejects,—that his statement is correct. Then with regard to the census taken by Augustus in 8 B.C. and 13 A.D., and which Prof. Pelham thinks did not require any special grant of the *consulare imperium*. The words of Augustus himself are (Mon. Ancyr. Lat. 8, 5 and 8): "iterum consulari cum imperio lustrum solus feci," and "tertium consulari cum imperio lustrum conlega Tiberio Caesare filio feci," the Greek being *ὑπατικῇ ἐξουσίᾳ*. Apart from any special theory, I think the natural impression conveyed by the language is that the imperium was specially conferred for the occasion. The phrase 'cum imperio' (Prof. Pelham, in quoting the passage, omits the preposition) favours this view, and when Augustus says (Grk. 6, 21) that he carried out certain measures by the tribunicia potestas—a power certainly held permanently and not specially granted, he uses the phrase not *δημαρχικῇ ἐξουσίᾳ* but *τῆς δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας ὢν* (unfortunately the Latin is lost). So I imagine, if he had had the *consulare imperium* permanently, he would have said *τὴν ὑπατικὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔχων*. It may perhaps deserve notice in this connexion that Dio Cassius (55, 13), under the year 4 B.C., says *ἀνθύπατον ἐξουσίαν πρός τε τὸ τέλος τῶν ἀπογραφῶν καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ καθαρσίου ποίησιν προσέθετο*. No doubt the statement is erroneous, both as regards date and as to the proconsular power (see above), but Dio must almost certainly have had some authority for saying that a special imperium was conferred for census purposes, and therefore the statement to a certain extent strengthens the inference from the monument. There is, however, another passage of Dio Cassius (60, 23) which, I think, absolutely proves that the princeps did not hold the consular imperium permanently within the city in the way which Prof. Pelham assumes, for we learn that Claudius was only able to celebrate some triumphal games (a function belonging to the consuls, Momms. *Staatsr.* ii. p. 129, n. 4) *ὑπάτου τινὰ ἐξουσίαν λαβὼν*, and evidently, if he had had the *consulare imperium* in a sense enabling him to take the census, he would also by the same means have been able to celebrate the former without a special grant.

Lastly, the privilege mentioned by Dio Cassius—*ἐν τῷ ὑπηκόῳ τὸ πλεῖον τῶν ἑκασταχόθι ἀρχόντων ἰσχύειν*—admits of another explanation than that given by Prof. Pelham. It seems to me that what was given to Augustus in 27 B.C. was the proconsular imperium over the so-called imperial provinces (Dio Cass. 53. 12) and the command of the army wherever it was, the senatorial provinces and their proconsuls being left independent, except so far as military and perhaps some financial matters were concerned. During the interval between 27—23 Augustus was employed in organising the imperial provinces in Gaul and Spain, and he may very likely have convinced himself that similar organisation was necessary in the senatorial provinces as well. This would be a sufficient reason for having the majus imperium in those provinces definitely secured to him, and in fact we find him in the next years making use of the power so given in his progress through the Oriental provinces. On the whole, therefore, in spite of the somewhat tempting symmetry of Professor Pelham's view, I think that this privilege was an 'extension of his authority,' and not merely a restoration of what he lost when he ceased to be consul.

E. G. HARDY.

A PROPERTIAN USE OF *VNVS.*

In a comment on the reading of Propertius II 16 12 Professor Vahlen[1] cites a number of passages in which *unus* and some other words of allied signification are used in a somewhat peculiar way. These passages he interprets by what may be called an illogical transference of the adjective. Thus in the place cited, reading 'semper amatorum ponderat *una* sinus,' he regards *una* as conveying the sense which would more properly have been conveyed by *unos*. Sheer necessity alone would justify our following the eminent Latinist on such a perilous path; and that there is not this necessity, it is the object of this paper to show.

Prof. Vahlen quotes for *unus*

Prop. II 20 27

> cum te tam multi peterent, tu me una petisti:
> possum ego naturae non meminisse tuae?

id. IV 9 59, 60

> di tibi dent alios fontes: haec lympha puellis
> auia secreti limitis una fluit.

Ov. Met. XIII 751

> Acis erat, Fauno nymphaque Symaethide cretus,
> magna quidem patrisque sui matrisque uoluptas,
> nostra tamen maior: nam me sibi iunxerat uni.

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[1] Monatsberichte der königl. preussisch. Akad. der Wissenschaft. zu Berlin, 1881, pp. 342 sqq.

Hor. *Ep.* II 2 157

> at si diuitiae prudentem reddere possent
> si cupidum timidumque minus te, nempe ruberes,
> uiueret in terris te si quis auarior uno.

In the first of these passages to take *me una* for *me unum* is to destroy the point of the contrast, whose subject is the kindness of Cynthia, not the good fortune of Propertius. In the second passage *unis* would be intelligible; but the sense '*Other* springs for you, this *one* for maidens' is a more appropriate one. In the third I discern no improvement on the ordinary interpretations, e.g. on Magnus' "denn er allein hatte es verstanden, meine Liebe zu gewinnen" or Simmons' "*uni*, to the exclusion of all others." We should perhaps express the same idea by 'wholly.' In the fourth the pre-supposed *si quis unus* for 'if *even* one man' seems to me at least doubtful Latinity.

Professor Vahlen sees a similar peculiarity in *solus* (for *solis*) Ov. *A. A.* I 131

> Romule, militibus scisti dare commoda solus.
> haec mihi si dederis commoda, miles ero,

and in *ipse* (for *ipso*) Ov. Her. 4, 166 (Phaedra addressing Hippolytus)

> flecte feros animos: potuit corrumpere taurum
> mater; eris tauro saeuior ipse truci?

I quote these because they show a certain similarity of emphasis to the use of *unus* we are considering; but it is a similarity, so to say, of place and not of form. *ipse* emphasizes the *person*, 'you, as opposed to your mother'; *solus* excludes with emphasis, 'you and no one else possessed the secret.' *unus* would distinguish with emphasis 'you pre-eminently,' 'you before the rest,' unus ante alios. The key to the distinction lies in the *numerical* reference which *unus* always imports. 'uir unus totius Graeciae doctissimus' is the *one* man who stands apart as the most accomplished in all Greece. There is the same singling out of one individual in contrast to a number in the less common use with the comparative, whether the *unus* be in construction with the comparative as Cat. 10. 17 'unum ut me facerem beatiorem' 'the one favoured individual' or in construction after it as Cat. 107. 7 'quis me uno uiuit felicior?' 'than my specially favoured self.' Cic. *fam.* 7. 16. 3 hominem te uno Samarobrivae iuris peritiorem esse and Hor. *l.c.*

Propertius *more suo* has developed this nuance of *unus* into what is almost a mannerism:

I 5 12 illa feros animis alligat una uiros 'is singularly successful in.'

II 3 29 gloria Romanis *una* es tu nata puellis 'the Phoenix of Roman women.'

III 13 15 felix Eois lex funeris *una* maritis 'specially favourable.'

In II 22 45

> hic unus dolor est ex omnibus acer amanti

the sense is the same as that of the prose expression 'unus omnium acerrimus.'

As the passages are already quoted, it is perhaps hardly necessary to add that *una* in II 20 27 and IV 9 60 brings out the 'singularity' in which Cynthia stands with regard to her admirers and the reserved spring with regard to other springs[1], as nothing else could. In II 16 12 *una* (as Palmer also reads) is just defensible; but *illa* the reading of DV gives a more appropriate emphasis.

J. P. POSTGATE.

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[1] This point is destroyed by the change to *unda* (Housman and since him Ribbeck) which besides introduces an inelegant apposition to *lympha*.

THE FOUR GOSPELS AND THE FOUR ELEMENTS.

In the *Journal of Philology*, vol. XVIII. p. 316, I suggested that Hermas in the *Shepherd* alludes figuratively to the Four Gospels, as the four supports of the Church, and as corresponding to the four *στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου.* I supposed him to do this chiefly in two places, in the former of which (*Vis.* iii. 13) he describes the Church as seated on a bench, and adds,

καὶ ὅτι ἐπὶ συμψελλίου εἶδες καθημένην, ἰσχυρὰ ἡ θέσις· ὅτι τέσσαρας πόδας ἔχει τὸ συμψέλλιον καὶ ἰσχυρῶς ἕστηκεν· καὶ γὰρ ὁ κόσμος διὰ τεσσάρων στοιχείων κρατεῖται.

This hypothesis is in a measure confirmed by Origen *In Joan.* (Migne *P. G.* 14. 29),

Ἐγὼ δ' οἶμαι ὅτι καί, τεσσάρων ὄντων τῶν Εὐαγγελίων, οἱονεὶ στοιχείων τῆς πίστεως τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, ἐξ ὧν στοιχείων ὁ πᾶς συνέστηκε κόσμος, ἐν Χριστῷ καταλλαγεὶς τῷ Θεῷ, καθά φησιν ὁ Παῦλος· Θεὸς ἦν ἐν Χριστῷ κόσμον καταλλάσσων ἑαυτῷ, οὗ κόσμου τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἦρεν Ἰησοῦς· περὶ γὰρ τοῦ κόσμου τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ὁ λόγος ἐστὶν ὁ γεγραμμένος· Ἰδοὺ ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ὁ αἴρων τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου κ.τ.λ.

"Origenes et ipse integrum Pastorem novit, quem divinitus inspiratum esse putavit" (Hilgf.). Not only so, but he quotes the *Shepherd* in the neighbourhood of the above passage; for this occurs in his preface to the Gospel of St John, and on the first words of the Evangelist, Ἐν *ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος*, he writes, *ὅτι ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων τὰ ὄντα ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεός, ὡς ἡ μήτηρ τῶν ἑπτὰ μαρτύρων ἐν Μακκαβαϊκοῖς, καὶ ὁ τῆς μετανοίας ἄγγελος ἐν τῷ Ποιμένι ἐδίδαξε.*

Thus he had the *Shepherd* in mind when he brought together the Church, the Four Gospels and the Four Elements of the World, as the *Shepherd* had done before him in *Vis.* iii. 13, according to the above-mentioned hypothesis.

It must suffice now to place this briefly on record; but I think that the correspondence between Hermas and Origen in the matter may be shewn to be closer even than appears from what has been already said.

C. TAYLOR.

HERODOTUS II 121 §§ 11—17.

I DO not know whether any one has pointed out an exact parallel between a part of the story of the treasury of Rhampsinitus and c. 31—34 of the passion of Theodotus (Ruinart *acta primorum martyrum sincera,* Amst. 1713, pp. 350—352). In both accounts there is the corpse guarded, the ass laden with wine, the guards intoxicated, the corpse conveyed away on the ass.

JOHN E. B. MAYOR.

NOTE ON THE PHILONEAN READING OF TWO PASSAGES IN THE TIMAEUS, 38 B AND 28 B.

ACCORDING to the old Armenian Version of the de Providentia Philo read these passages as follows:—

Tim. 38 B *χρόνος δ' οὐχὶ μετ' οὐρανοῦ γέγονεν, ἵνα ἅμα γενηθέντες ἅμα καὶ λυθῶσιν ἄν ποτε αὐτῶν λύσις τις γίγνηται;*

Here the usual text reads *οὖν* instead of *οὐχὶ* or *οὐ*: *λύσις τις αὐτῶν* instead of *αὐτῶν λύσις τις*: *γεννηθέντες* for *γενηθέντες*, and the whole clause is not read as a question. These changes do not much affect the sense; the Philonean reading chiefly differs in being rhetorical in form. The rare form *γενηθέντες* is in some MSS. The Armenian text only makes it probable and by no means certain.

Tim. 28 B. Here Philo read as follows: *σκεπτέον δ' οὖν περὶ αὐτοῦ, ὅπερ ὑπόκειται περὶ παντὸς ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ ζῆν σκοπεῖν.* Here the received text has *πρῶτον* after *αὐτοῦ* and instead of *τοῦ ζῆν* has *δεῖν*. Immediately below it is probable that Philo read *ἀρχὴν γενέσεως* for *γενέσεως ἀρχήν*. It is also probable that he read *γιγνόμενα καὶ γενητὰ* for *γιγνόμενα καὶ γεννητά*.

Of these changes *τοῦ ζῆν* is the only material one. Perhaps *γενητὰ* is more properly used as the antithesis of *ἀΐδιος* than *γεννητός*, which is rather opposed to *ποιητός* as Liddell and Scott point out. So in 38 B *γενηθέντες* is better than *γεννηθέντες*, for *γένεσις*, and not *γέννησις*, is the opposite of *λύσις*. The change of *δεῖν* into *τοῦ ζῆν* or some similar reading,—for the Armenian text suits *τῆς ζωῆς* equally well,—is probable, because the *πᾶς οὐρανὸς* of which he is speaking in 28 B is in 30 B and 31 B determined to be a *ζῷον*.

The above passages are quoted in the first treatise de Providentia of Philo preserved in an Armenian Version of the Vth century. They occur on p. 10 of Aucher's edition of that treatise; in Aucher's note ad l. τοῦ ζεῖν must be a misprint for τοῦ ζῆν. In the Tauchnitz and Leipsic reprints of Aucher's Latin translation this note is omitted. To him really belongs the conjecture. It is interesting to know that τοῦ ζῆν was the reading which stood here in the beginning of the 1st century. No Greek MS. shews it.

FRED. C. CONYBEARE.

ON PARMENIDES 52 (60).

οὐ γὰρ μήποτε τοῦτο δαμῇ εἶναι μὴ ἐόντα.

According to Bekker, the MSS of Plato, *sophist* 237 A and 258 D, agree in giving *τοῦτ' οὐδαμῇ.* The evidence in regard to Aristotle's citation, *metaphysics* N 2. 1089 a 4, is stated by Bonitz as follows: "*δαμῆ* E, *δυνάμει* T, *οὐδαμῆ* A^b G^b I^b, *a*..., *ullo modo i.*" The author of the commentary known as Alexander's, who plainly found great difficulty in the fragment, read *τοῦτο μηδαμῇ.* The evidence in regard to Simplicius *in physica* is, according to the Berlin edition, as follows: 29^v *τοῦτο δαμῆ* E: *τοῦτο μηδαμῆ* D: in lac. om. F: *τό γε μὴ ὂν οἷόν τε εἶναι* a. 31^r *τοῦτο δαμῆ* DE: *τούτου οὐδαμῆ* (*οὐδαμὴ* F) a F. 53^v *τοῦτο δαμῆ* E: *τοῦτο μηδαμῆ* D: *τοῦτ' οὐδαμῆ* F: *τό γε μηδαμῆ* a. Diels concludes that Simplicius read *τοῦτο δαμῇ*, and that he found this reading in the *sophist.*

The moderns have proposed a variety of emendations: *τοῦτο δαῇς* Heindorf, *τοῦτο δαμῇς* Steinhart, *τοῦτο λαλῇς* Wagner, *τοῦτο φανῇ* Ueberweg and Campbell, *τοῦτ' ἰνδάλλεαι εἶν* or *τοῦτο δοάσσεαι εἶν* or *τοῦτ' οὐ Δᾶν ᾗ εἶν* Bergk. Stein, *d. Fragmente des P.* p. 785, reads *οὐ γὰρ μήποτε τοῦτο δαμῇ εἶναι μὴ ἐόντα,* translating *nec enim unquam hoc vincatur* (*cogatur*) *esse ea quae non sint*, and quoting to justify this interpretation of *δαμῇ*, Plato *Theaetetus* 196 B *καὶ τούτῳ αὐτῷ ἠναγκάζομεν μὴ εἶναι ψευδῆ δόξαν*: *republic* 611 B *ὅτι μὲν τοίνυν ἀθάνατον ψυχὴ καὶ ὁ ἄρτι λόγος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἀναγκάζοιεν ἄν*: Horat. *Sat.* I iii 115 *nec vincet ratio hoc tantundem ut peccet idemque.* Schultess, in the seventh edition of Ritter and Preller's *Historia Philosophiae Graecae*, pointing out that the revised text of Simplicius confirms Stein's conjectural reading *δαμῇ*, explicitly adopts Stein's rendering. Diels indicates contentment with the reading *δαμῇ*, but does not say how he interprets it.

For my own part I am not satisfied that Horace's *hoc ratio vincet* is sufficient to prove Stein's *hoc vincatur:* still less can I regard *ἠναγκάζομεν* and *ἀναγκάζοιεν ἄν* as adequate justifications of the supposed use of *δαμῇ*: and when I review the meanings and uses of *δαμᾶν*, Stein's interpretation seems to me wholly impossible.

On the other hand, in view of the agreement of the texts of Plato, Aristotle, and Simplicius, I cannot believe that the tradition is substantially erroneous; and consequently I find myself constrained to reject the emendations proposed by Heindorf and others.

I proceed then to inquire whether the reading of the MSS, *οὐ γὰρ μήποτε τοῦτο δαμῇ εἶναι μὴ ἐόντα*, will bear any meaning other than Stein's.

Now the variants of the MSS seem to show that to the scribes *δαμῇ* suggested *οὐδαμῇ* or *μηδαμῇ*; and the modern emendators agree in thinking that a verb is wanted upon which *εἶναι μὴ ἐόντα* may depend. I think that both these instincts are sound.

Accordingly I propose to divide *δαμῇ*, and to write

οὐ γὰρ μή ποτε τοῦτο δαμ' ᾖ, εἶναι μὴ ἐόντα,

that is to say, *οὐ γὰρ μήποτε μηδαμὰ τοῦτο ᾖ, εἶναι μὴ ἐόντα,* 'for never anywise shall this be, that what is not, is.' In other words, I suppose that *μή* belongs, not only to the *ποτέ* which stands in immediate juxtaposition to it, but also to the *δαμά* which presently follows. The division of *μηδαμά* into *μή* and *δαμά* is, no doubt, strange: but it has an exact parallel in Alcaeus' *καί κ' οὐδὲν ἐκ δενὸς γένοιτο*, fr. 76 (89), where, according to ancient authority[1], *οὐδὲν ἐκ δενός* = *οὐδὲν ἐξ οὐδενός*; and it is not nearly so startling as Democritus' *δέν*. For *οὐδαμά*, see Empedocles 93, 99, 148.

HENRY JACKSON.

25 *January* 1892.

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[1] αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ οὐδεὶς τὸ οὐδέτερον, δέν, χωρὶς τῆς οὐ παραθέσεως, ἔχομεν παρὰ Ἀλκαίῳ ἐν τῷ ἐνάτῳ, Κοὐδὲν ἐκ δενὸς γένοιτο. Ζηνόβιος. *Etym. Mag.* 639, 31.

VARIOUS CONJECTURES II.

Aesch. *Supp.* 367:

366	*ποτιτρόπαιον αἰδ-*	= 353	*λυκοδίωκτον ὥς*
367	*όμενος οὗνπερ*		*δάμαλιν ἆμ πέτραις*
367 b			*ἠλιβάτοις, ἵν᾽ ἀλκ-*
368	*ἱεροδόκα θεῶν*		*ᾷ πίσυνος μέμυκε φράζ-*
	λήματ᾽ ἀπ᾽ ἀνδρὸς ἁγνοῦ		*ουσα βοτῆρι μόχθους.*

Sch. M on 367, *οὐ πτωχεύσεις*. Hence for *οὗνπερ* Hermann conjectured *οὐ πενεῖ*, an unauthorised future of *πένεσθαι*, supplying for 367 b <*καλλιπότμου τύχας*> and in 368 <*πέλει*>. *οὐ πενεῖ* was approved by Heimsoeth and has been commonly adopted by editors, as by Weil, Paley, Oberdick. Scholefield suggested in preference *οὐ πένης*, or *οὐ πένει* (the present), which as Dindorf (who also reads this) truly says 'quum pro futuro hic poni potuerit, scholiastae per *πτωχεύσεις* interpretari licuit, nisi *πτωχεύεις* scripsit.' Other conjectures are *εἴπερ* Stanley, *ὧν ὑπέρ* or *οὗ πέρι* Bothe, *οὐ μάτην* Hartung, *οὐκ ἀπορεῖς* Schuetz (which will not scan), *εὐπορεῖς* C. G. Haupt, which Wecklein places in his margin. Dr Tucker freely rewrites as follows:

ποτιτρόπαιον αἰδ-
όμενος <ἂν τελοῖς>
οἵαπέρ <ἐστ᾽ ἄρισθ᾽>
ἱροδόκοις <ἕδραι-
σι> θυλήματ᾽ ἀπ᾽ ἀνδρὸς ἁγνοῦ.

None of these while satisfying the metre accounts at once for the scholium and the appearance of the text. By the conjecture here proposed all the conditions are satisfied. Write *οὖνπερ* in uncials ΟΥΝΠΕΡ, but read this as ΟΥΛΙΠΕΡ. Compare now the following: Et. Mag. *λιπερνῆτις: θηλυκόν· τὸ ἀρσενικὸν, λιπερνήτης. σημαίνει τὸν ἐνδεῆ καὶ πτωχόν.* Zonaras: *λιπερνήτης: ἐνδεὴς, πτωχός*... Suid. *λιπερνῆτις. ἡ πτωχή*....

We have beyond doubt I think the first half of one from this family of words; but when we have written *οὐ λιπερν*... we can go no further except by guessing. It is possible that Paulus Silentiarius in *Ecphras.* 1010

> *οὐδὲ λιπερνήτης τελέθει βροτὸς ὃν σὺ νοήσεις·* (l. -ῃς)
> *αὐτίκα γὰρ καθαροῖο νόου θημῶνα πετάσσας*
> *Λυδὸν ἐριχρύσοιο παρέδραμες ὄλβον ἀναύρου*
> *ἔκχυτον ἐκ παλάμης, ποταμήρρυτον ὄλβον, ὀπάζων*

preserves an echo of our phrase; which may have been *οὐ λιπερνὴς τελέθοις ἄν*...: but it may have been *οὐ λιπερνής ποτ' ἔσει* or *οὐ λιπερνῆτα βίον ποθ' ἕξεις* (cf. *A. P.* vi. 39 *οἷς ἔσχον χερνῆτα βίον*), or merely *οὐ λιπερνεῖς* or *λιπερνοῖς ἄν*. The loss of half the word, though tantalising, proves the loss of a line, refuting (if anything was needed to refute) Bothe, Heimsoeth and Oberdick, who reject 357, which Kock (*Fragm. Com. Att.* iii. p. 717) compares with Eupolis *fr.* 1. The loss was probably due to a practice, sometimes adopted to save room, of writing the lines of a choric passage no longer each below the other but, when they are short enough, parallel with a space between. It may be judged that the two methods if alternated, as they sometimes are with great freedom, would be very likely to cause a scribe to omit a line written by the side and pass to that written immediately below.

Usually the omission of lines in copying is due to similarity either of beginning or of end. For example, in Aesch. M *Pers.* 555—564, 1011, *Cho.* 625, 708—710, *Eum.* 121—123, which have been afterwards added in the margin, were at first omitted through this cause. This, therefore, should be considered in filling up lacunae by conjecture, which can sometimes be done with plausibility. The following supplements are here briefly suggested:

Aesch. *Pers.* 12:

πᾶσα γὰρ ἰσχὺς Ἀσιατογενὴς
ᾤχωκεν, ἑὸν δ' ἄνδρα βαύζει
<κούρη......ἑκάστη.>
κοὔτε τις ἄγγελος οὔτε τις ἵππος

13. Hom. *τ* 209 *κλαιούσης ἑὸν ἄνδρα.* 13 b. For *κούρη* see Ebeling *Lex. Hom.* pp. 874^a 9, 875^a 29. I suppose also an epithet such as *πολύδακρυς, μονόκοιτος, *λιπόκοιτος.*

Aesch. *Cho.* 961:

ἄναγε μάν, δόμοι· πολὺν ἄγαν χρόνον
χαμαιπετεῖς ἔκεισθ' ἀεὶ
<χαλινῶν ὕπαί.>

or *χαλινῶν μένει* as *Theb.* 380, *Ag.* 248. Cf. *Cho.* 960.

Aesch. *Eum.* 634:

ἀπὸ στρατείας γάρ νιν ἠμποληκότα
τὰ πλεῖστ' ἄμεινον εὔφροσιν δεδεγμένη
<τὰ πρῶτα μύθοις, εἶτ' ἐν ἀργυρηλάτῳ>
δροίτῃ περῶντι λουτρά...

Cf. Pind. *P.* iv. 127 *ἐν δαιτὸς δὲ μοίρᾳ μειλιχίοισι λόγοις αὐτοὺς Ἰάσων δέγμενος, ξείνι' ἁρμόζοντα τεύχων, πᾶσαν ἐυφροσύναν τάνυεν.* *P.* iv. 29—31, ix. 73, and for *τὰ πρῶτα* Aesch. *Pers.* 98—100, 415, Soph. *fr.* 153, 234, 881. *Ag.* 1540 *ἀργυροτοίχου δροίτης.* I take *περῶντι λουτρά* not according to the usual interpretation 'passing through the bath,' but in the sense 'finishing his bath' (*τὴν λοῦσιν*).

So in *Eum.* 666—669 where Butler marked a lacuna after 667, I suspect that the loss was due to the same cause:

πατὴρ μὲν ἂν γένοιτ' ἄνευ μητρός· πέλας
μάρτυς πάρεστι παῖς Ὀλυμπίου Διός,
<οὐ...,>
οὐδ' ἐν σκότοισι νηδύος τεθραμμένη,
ἀλλ' οἷον ἔρνος οὔτις ἂν τέκοι θεός. (*θεά*?)

the sense being 'not begotten of a female nor conceived.' The line might be supplied in many ways. For the rhythm of the supposed sentence cf. [Eur.] *Rhes.* 427—429.

Stobaeus *Fl.* iv. (*περὶ ἀφροσύνης*) 42:

42 *νοῦς ὁρῇ καὶ νοῦς ἀκούει.*
Κερκίδου. *πῶς κ᾽ ἴδοιεν τὰν σοφίαν πέλας ἑστακυῖαν*
ἀνέρες ὧν τὸ κέαρ παλῷ σέσακται
καὶ δυσεκνίπτῳ τρυγί;

For *Κερκίδου*, 'Trinc. *Κερκίδας*, auctius cod. B Schowii *Κερκίδας ἐν Μελιάμβοις*' Bergk, who gives the whole as Cercidas *fr.* 4 but with 42 in brackets. 'This line 'Cercidae tribuere videtur Trinc. Deest locus A.' Gaisford. 'Sed cum prima haec verba Epicharmi sint, probabiliter coniecit Grotius: (*Ἐπιχάρμου*)· *Νοῦς ὁρῇ καὶ νοῦς ἀκούει*· (*τἆλλα κωφὰ καὶ τυφλά*). *Κερκίδου*· *Πῶς κ.τ.λ.* quod firmat cod. A, in quo primus versus deest. Meineke putat Cercidam Epicharmi hemistichium in suum usum convertisse.' Bergk.

Neither of these is the true explanation of the text. This saying of Epicharmus is quoted or alluded to by many writers, for whom see Wyttenbach on Plat. *Phaedo* p. 151, Leutsch on Apostolius xii. 13, Lorenz *Epicharmos* p. 256. Lorenz shows which writers quote the whole verse, which the first five words, which the first two only. Among those who quote the celebrated saying are scholiasts: schol. Hom. X 25, schol. Aesch. *P. V.* 438 (Dind.), schol. Ar. *Plut.* 48. Two citations that I can add from the scholia to Euripides will solve our problem:

Hec. 1045 (1023 K.):

οὐ γάρ ποτ᾽ ὄμμα λαμπρὸν ἐνθήσεις κόραις·
οὐ παῖδας ὄψει ζῶντας οὓς ἔκτειν᾽ ἐγώ.

Schol. Fl. 25 *ἰστέον ὡς οὐκ ἔμελλε θεάσασθαι τοὺς παῖδας διὰ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἀλλὰ τῷ νῷ· νοῦς γὰρ ὁρᾷ καὶ νοῦς ἀκούει.*

Med. 349 (352 K) *καὶ νῦν ὁρῶ μὲν ἐξαμαρτάνων, γύναι* schol. A rec. (paraphr.), *καὶ νῦν ὁρῶ καὶ νοῶ (νοῦς γὰρ ὁρᾷ καὶ νοῦς ἀκούει) ἁμαρτάνοντά με....*

In these places the saying is quoted to illustrate *ὄψει* and *ὁρῶ* used of mental vision. Can it be doubted that in our passage the same saying, without the author's name, absent in cod. A, and only *apparently* attributed to Cercidas by Trinc.

('Cercidae tribuere videtur Trinc.' Gaisford), was adscribed to illustrate the same sense in *ἴδοιεν*?

There is another place where the words *νοῦς ὁρᾷ* have been a stumbling-block:

Eur. *Hel.* 117:

ΕΛ. *εἶδες σὺ τὴν δύστηνον, ἢ κλύων λέγεις;*
ΤΕ. *ὥσπερ σέ γ', οὐδὲν ἧσσον, ὀφθαλμοῖς ὁρῶ.*
ΕΛ. *σκοπεῖτε μὴ δόκησιν εἴχετ' ἐκ θεῶν.*
ΤΕ. *ἄλλον λόγου μέμνησο, μὴ κείνης ἔτι.*
ΕΛ. *οὕτω δοκεῖτε τὴν δόκησιν ἀσφαλῆ;*
ΤΕ. *αὐτὸς γὰρ ὅσσοις εἰδόμην καὶ νοῦς ὁρᾷ.*

The critics assume that in the last line there is corruption due to confusion of letters, Dobree (*Adversar.* ii. p. 106) proposing *ἢ νῦν σ' ὁρῶ* or *ὡς νῦν σ' ὁρῶ*, which last is adopted by Nauck and Kirchhoff. Certainly the compendium of *καί* is often confused with *η* and with the compendium of *ὡς*. Hermann, whom Paley follows, reads *αὔτως γὰρ ὅσσοις εἰδόμην καὶ νῦν σ' ὁρῶ*, taking *αὔτως καί* as = *ὁμοίως καί* 'equally as.' Cobet (*Nov. Lectt.* p. 189) objects to the form *εἰδόμην* in an iambic trimeter, and would therefore write *εἶδον, ὡς σὲ νῦν ὁρῶ*, and W. G. Clark, feeling the same objection, afterwards suggested in this *Journal* *εἶδον εἰ καὶ νῦν σ' ὁρῶ*. The middle, however, is found in Aesch. *Pers.* 182 *ἐναργὲς* (*ὄνειρον*) *εἰδόμην*, *P. V.* 92, *Cho.* 406, 971, 978 *ἴδεσθε*, *Cho.* 230, 246 *ἰδοῦ*, *Eum.* 142 *ἰδώμεθ'*, Soph. *Phil.* 351 *οὐ γὰρ εἰδόμην*, *El.* 392 *ὅσον κατειδόμην*, 977 *ἴδεσθε*, *Trach.* 151 *εἰσίδοιτο*, Eur. *Ion* 1281, *Heracl.* 29 *ἴδεσθε*, Ar. *Vesp.* 182 *φέρ' ἴδωμαι*, Dionys. Com. *fr.* 2. 8 *προίδηται* (Dobree for *προίδητε*); all these are in iambic dialogue. In anapaests Soph. has *ἰδοίμην* *Trach.* 1004, and in lyrics *Aj.* 351 *ἴδεσθε*, *Phil.* 1113 *ἰδοίμαν*, Aesch. in lyrics *P. V.* 924 *ἴδοισθε*, *Theb.* 408 *ἰδέσθαι*, *Supp.* 110 *ἰδέσθω*, 363 *ἴδοιτο*, and Aristophanes in lyrics *ἐπιδώμεθα* *Nub.* 289.

It should be observed that with any of these readings the sense of 122 will be exactly the same as that of 118: still a stubborn reiteration need not here be considered out of place. Finally, in the last number of this *Journal*, Mr Macnaghten proposes to read *καινοὺς ὅρα*, understanding *λόγους* from 120 ἄλλου λόγου μέμνησο. Now, since the saying of Epicharmus is, as we have seen, familiar to scholiasts, I wish to point out the possibility that we have here an adscript which has supplanted the true text. Philostratus *Ep.* lxi quotes only the first two words: Ἀθηνοδώρῳ. οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ ξύμβουλοι τοῦ ἐρᾶν, σὺ δ' ἀκοὴν σπάσας ἐρᾷς Ἰωνικοῦ μειρακίου οἰκῶν Κόρινθον. τουτὶ δὲ μαντικὸν φαίνεται τοῖς οὔπω εἰδόσιν ὅτι νοῦς ὁρᾷ. They might here have been written *e.g.* to φρεσίν (or τῷ νῷ) θ' ἅμα (or τέ νιν): or they might have been a comment on the addition of ὅσσοις to εἰδόμην, implying 'ὅσσοις is added to make it clear that the sight was physical, for, as Epicharmus says, *the mind* too *sees*.' But is the text unsound at all?

Lucian iii. 105 (πρὸς τὸν ἀπαίδευτον § 6) ξυλίνους πόδας πεποίητο, καὶ τούτους ὑποδούμενος ἐβάδιζεν...ἐκεῖνο δὲ γελοῖον ἐποίει, κρηπῖδας γὰρ καλλίστας ἐωνεῖτο νεοτμήτους ἀεί, καὶ τὴν πλείστην πραγματείαν περὶ ταύτας εἶχεν, ὡς καλλίστοις ὑποδήμασι κεκοσμημένα εἴη αὐτῷ τὰ ξύλα, οἱ πόδες δή. Never was there a more patent case of interpolation than in the last three words. Cobet, who ejected so many *emblemata* of this kind, says, *Var. Lectt.* p. 293: 'In [Lucian] 16, 22 [i. 644] in Codd. ad ἐτελέσθης γάρ adduntur τὰ ἐλευσίνια δηλονότι et δηλονότι τὰ ἐλευσίνια: tritum est in istis δηλονότι, quod quia scribitur $\overset{\lambda}{\text{δη}}$ saepe in δή abiit. 10, 10, 6 [i. 367] εἴποτέ σε ἡ πόλις ἀνεκήρυξεν in multis additur εὐεργέτην δηλονότι vel δῆλον ὅτι.' For δηλονότι [or δηλαδή] through its compendium becoming δή see Bast on Greg. Cor. pp. 725, 804. Here is an uncorrected instance: Ar. *Nub.* 345 ἀπόκριναι] ἐμοὶ δή, Sch. Vict.

In Lucian iii. 105 a few lines below, ἧς τὰ μὲν ἄλλα μὴ ἐξετάζειν· οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν πρὸς σέ, αὐτῶν was surely inserted by a scribe who misunderstood the construction of this idiom.

Lucian ii. 260 (*Alexand.* § 56) ξένια καὶ δῶρα πολλὰ πέμψας...what is added by καὶ δῶρα except an explanation of ξένια?

There are very many cases of confusion between -ων and -ειν. I have elsewhere emended Meleag. *A. P.* vii. 79 ὤνθρωφ', Ἡράκλειτος ἐγὼ σοφὰ μοῦνος ἀνευρών φημι· τὰ δ' ἐς πάτραν κρέσσονα καὶ σοφίης (read ἀνευρεῖν), and in Agathias *A. P.* ix.

766 *αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ σεύειν ἐπιτέρπομαι* I do not hesitate to read *σεύων.* So in

Aesch. *Cho.* 381:

> *Ζεῦ Ζεῦ κάτωθεν ἀμπέμπων*
> *ὑστερόποινον ἄταν.*

381 = 395 *φεῦ φεῦ καράνα δαΐξας.* The conjectures as recorded by Wecklein are *κάτωθεν ἰάλλων* Emperius, *κάτωθ' ἀναπέμπων* Grotefend, *ἄμπεμψον* Portus, *ἄμπεμπε* in l. Bigoti, *ἄμπεμπ' ὦ* Musgrave, *ὁ πέμπων* Hartung, *ἀνελθεῖν* Schoemann. An infinitive at any rate is here corrupted. We might alter Emperius' conjecture to *κ. ἰάλλειν*, for *ἰάλλειν* is explained by *πέμπειν.* We must then suppose *ἀμπέμπων* (for *πέμπων*) to have been an attempt at metrical equivalence. *κάτωθ'* (Grotefend) *ἀναπέμπειν* is more probable, or *κάτωθ' ἀνιάλλειν* (through
ΠΕΜΠΕΙΝ
ΑΝΙΑΛΛΕΙΝ), since *κάτωθεν* for *κάτωθε* and the like are very common errors, which I shall illustrate on Herondas ii. 69.

In the last number of this *Journal* I exhibited the various ways in which this hortatory infinitive was liable to be corrupted. It is likely that there are many places where it is lost beyond recovery; but there are also many where it should probably be restored. Among these I think to be

Ar. *Pax* 1144:

> *ἀλλ' ἄφαυε τῶν φασήλων, ὦ γύναι, τρεῖς χοίνικας.*

So B. R. V. Ald. *ἀλλ' ἄφευε* S. V. adscr. Suid. s.v. *ἄφευε* .... *ἄφελε* Suid. in *φάσηλος*...(Blaydes). 'Codex Venetus *ἄφαυσε*' Dind. Schol. *ἄφαυε: φρύξον. τινὲς γράφουσι ἄφαυσον, ἀντὶ τοῦ ξέσον.* The variation seems to me to point to an original infinitive, whether *ἀφαύ[ζ]ειν, ἀφεύειν, ἀφαῦσαι* or *ἀφεῦσαι.* Cf. 1153 *ὧν ἔνεγκ', ὦ παῖ, τρί' ἡμῖν, ἓν δὲ δοῦναι τῷ πατρί*, where Blaydes ought not to have suggested '*ἓν δὲ δὸς τὠμῷ πατρὶ*, vel *ἓν δὲ δός μοι τῷ πατρί.*'

Soph. *Phil.* 300:

> *φέρ', ὦ τέκνον, νῦν καὶ τὸ τῆς νήσου μάθῃς.*

'*μάθῃς* L, with A and most of the others. *μάθε* (R, V^2) may have been a mere conjecture; T and a few more have *μάθοις.*'

Jebb, who remarks: 'It is improbable that, if *μάθε* had been the genuine reading—giving so plain a construction—it would have been corrupted to the unparalleled *μάθῃς*. A more attractive conjecture is Seyffert's *κἂν...μάθοις*. If *κἂν* had once become *καὶ* (a most easy change), then *μάθοις* might have been altered to *μάθῃς* by a post-classical corrector.' Had these variants existed in a negative sentence (with *μή*), *μαθεῖν* might have been restored with certainty; without a negative, it is strange that a scribe should have written *μάθῃς*: but in spite of this I feel that *μαθεῖν* is the most probable reading.

Carm. Pop. (Moeris p. 193. 4) 15:

βαλβῖδα ποδὸς θέτε πόδα παρὰ πόδα.

'...*βαλβῖδα πόδας θέντες* codd. Pricaei et Vossii exhibent, Gronovii autem liber *παρ᾽ ὃ*.' Bergk, who writes

βαλβῖδι ποδῶν
θέντες πόδα πὰρ πόδα (*θεῖτε*).

Haupt: *βαλβῖδα ποδὸς θέτε πόδα παρὰ πόδα.*
Farnell: *βαλβῖδι πόδας θέτε πὰρ πόδα πόδα.*

But, as Bergk says, anapaestis solutioribus nullus hic locus. I suggest *βαλβῖδι πόδας πὰρ πόδα θεῖναι.*

Lyr. Fr. Adesp. (Stob. *Ecl.* i. 5. 12) 140:

Κλωθὼ Λάχεσίς τ᾽ εὐώλενοι
κοῦραι Νυκτός,
εὐχομένων ἐπακούσατ᾽, οὐράνιαι χθόνιαί τε
δαίμονες ὦ πανδείμαντοι·
πέμπετ᾽ ἄμμιν ῥοδόκολπον
Εὐνομίαν...

Bergk writes *πέμπετε δ᾽*. Perhaps *πέμπειν.*

In Alcaeus *fr.* 39 the true reading may be *οἴνῳ πνεύμονα τέγγειν.* See Bergk.

In Herondas vii. 126 the papyrus shows

ΙΝ
ΕΙΘΙϹΘΕΤΗΝΜΟΙΔΟΥΛ ΩΔΕΠΕΜΠΕΤΕΙ

where the last Ι has been cancelled by a stroke through it as well as by the dot. If ΔΕΙ (ΔΙ) had fallen out either before or after

ΠΕΜΠΕΙΝ, ΠΕΜΠΕΤΕ was a natural makeshift; and if we restore δεῖ with Dr Rutherford we can get ..*εἴθισθε, τήν μοι δουλ[ίδ']* *ὧδε <δεῖ> πέμπειν* (Blass), where the position of *μοι* is barely defensible by iii. 73, v. 12. This objection is removed by Dr Jackson's reading ...*εἴθισθ', ἔτην μοι <ἣ> δουλίδ' ὧδε <δεῖ>* *πέμπειν*: but surely no one but a slave would be sent! I proceed, therefore, on the supposition that the hortatory infinitive (an Ionic idiom, Greg. Cor. *de dial. Ion.* § xxxii) has been changed to the imperative, and conjecture a text as follows:

ΔΟΥΛΗΝ ΠΕΜΠΕΤΕ
ΤΗΝΘΡΕΙϹϹΑΝΩΔΕΜΟΙΠΕΜΠΕΙΝ

(cf. *e.g.* Schol. Ar. *Ach.* 273 *τὴν Στρυμοδώρου Θρᾷτταν: ἤτοι κοινῶς δούλην, ἢ οὕτως καλουμένην, τὴν ἐκ Θρᾴττης* ...) which becoming ΤΗΝΔΟΥΛΗΝΩΔΕΜΟΙΠΕΜΠΕΤΕ, ΜΟΙ was transposed to mend the metre.

In Herond. v. 42 also

ΚΑΙϹΥΜΟΙΔΡΗΧΩΝ
ΗΔΗΦΑΜΑΡΤΙϹΟΙΕΑΝΟΥΤΟϹΗΓΗΤΑΙ

it seems likely that

ΟΤΕ
ἬΔΗ ʼΦΑΜΑΡΤΕΙ͂Ν ΕΥΤΕΑΝ ΟὟΤΟϹ ἩΓΗ͂ΤΑΙ

should be restored.

Aesch. *Cho.* 821—822 = 835—836:

ἐμὸν ἐμὸν κέρδος ἀέξεται τόδ' = *φοινίαν ἄταν τιθεὶς τὸν αἴτιον*
ἄτα δ' ἀποστατεῖ φίλων. *δ' ἐξαπολλὺς μόρον.*

821. '*ἀέξεται* ex *αὔξεται*, ut videtur, factum M.' Weckl.

834. schol. *τὴν ἔνδον ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας φονίαν ἄτην καταβαλών*...whence Heimsoeth (*Die Wiederherstellung der Dramen des Aeschylus*, p. 13) rightly, as I believe, restored *φόνιον*. Scribes constantly write *φοίνιος* for *φόνιος* (as, for example, in *Pers.* 81) and the feminine termination in such cases as this. But in proposing *ἐξαπολλύων* he is uncritical. Aeschylus could have used the form *ἐξαπολλύων*, and a scribe could have used the form *ἐξαπολλύς* (though this compound is poetical); but no scribe, finding *ἐξαπολλύων*, would have substituted

what would be to him the less familiar form. Cf. *e.g.* Moeris p. 11 ἀπολλύς, Ἀττικῶς. ἀπολλύων, Ἑλληνικῶς. I believe that we should read

φόνιον ἄταν τιθείς, τὸν αἴτιον δὴ ’ξαπολλύναι μόρον

ΕΞΑΠΟΛΛΥΕ
the text we find having arisen from ΔΕΞΑΠΟΛΛΥΝΑΙ. Hereby we obtain at once the verb of the sentence and the metre we require. Whether ἀέξεται is right or αὔξεται, I consider doubtful. ἀέξεται could be read if for κέρδος be substituted λῆμμα or λῆμα, words constantly confused. Cf. *e.g.* Hesych. λῆμμα: θράσος, δύναμις, τόλμα, ἀξίωμα, κέρδος, φρόνημα ἢ δῶρον.

Bias (Diog. Laert. i. 85) *fr.* 1:

αὐθάδης δὲ τρόπος
πολλάκι <δὴ> βλαβερὰν ἐξέλαμψεν ἄταν.

δή added by C. F. Hermann and Bergk. I would read πολλάκι δὴ βλαβερὰ ’ξέλαμψεν ἄτα.

Ibycus (Herodian. περὶ σχημ. 60. 24) *fr.* 7:

τᾶμος ἄυπνος κλυτὸς ὄρθρος ἐγείρησιν ἀηδόνας.

For attempted explanations of the dawn awaking the *nightingales* I must refer to Bergk. The birds of dawn for the Greeks were two; the cock and the *swallow*: *A. P.* v. 237 εὖτε δ’ ἐπέλθῃ ὄρθρος..., ἀμφιπεριτρύζουσι χελιδόνες. vi. 160 κερκίδα τὰν ὀρθρινά, χελιδονίδων ἅμα φωνᾷ μελπομέναν. 247 ὀρθρολάλοισι χελιδόσι. Apuleius *Flor.* ii. 13. I can hardly feel any doubt that the birds whose waking-hour is said here to mark the dawn are swallows, and would read ΕΓΕΙΡΗϹΙΧΕΛΙΔΟΝΑϹ, which may be considered to some extent supported by cod. A, which has ἀειδονάς.

Timotheus (Ath. 122 d, Eust. 1422. 50) *fr.* 12:

οὐκ ἀείδω τὰ παλαιά· καινὰ γὰρ κρείσσω· νέος ὁ Ζεὺς βασιλεύει· τὸ παλαιὸν δ’ ἦν Κρόνος ἄρχων. ἀπίτω μοῦσα παλαιά.

For καινὰ γὰρ Ath. A has καὶ ταγὰρ ἅμα. The whole may be reduced to Ionic metre by reading τὰ παλαί’ οὐκέτ’ ἀείδω or τὰ παλαιὰ δ' οὐκ ἀείδω· μάλα (Bergk for ἅμα) γὰρ τὰ καινὰ κρείσσω or τὰ γὰρ ἀμὰ (Wilamowitz) κάρτα κρείσσω· κ.τ.λ. with τὸ πάλαι (Meineke) for τὸ παλαιόν.

Theognis 461:

> μή ποτ' ἐπ' ἀπρήκτοισι νόον ἔχε, μηδὲ μενοίνα,
> χρήμασι τῶν ἄνυσις γίνεται οὐδεμία.

'*νόον ἔχε*, numero labanti ut subvenirent M. Schmidt et Heimsoeth *σχέθε* commendaverunt, quod occupavit dudum Hermann ad Orph. p. 765, iure repudians priorum commentum *νόον γ' ἔχε*. At *μὴ σχέθε* sermonis Graeci consuetudini adversatur, nam *μὴ σχέθῃς* oportebat dici...Possis *νόον σχὲς* substituere, sed equidem *σχεῖν* i.e. *ἐπισχεῖν* praeoptaverim...' Bergk. I think it more probable that *νόημ' ἔχε* should be read, as 1149 *αἰὲν ἐπ' ἀλλοτρίοις κτεάνοις ἐπέχουσι νόημα.* Simon. Amorg. i. 22 has

> εἰ δ' ἐμοὶ πιθοίατο,
> οὐκ ἂν κακῶν ἐρῷμεν, οὐδ' ἐπ' ἄλγεσιν
> κακοῖς ἔχοντες θυμὸν αἰκιζοίμεθα.

Plat. *Legg.* 926 B *ἐπὶ μείζοσι γάμοις τὴν διάνοιαν ἐπέχων.*

Ion *fr.* 3:

> Ἑνδεκάχορδε λύρα, δεκαβάμονα τάξιν ἔχουσα,
> τὰς συμφωνούσας ἁρμονίας τριόδους·
> πρὶν μέν σ' ἑπτάτονον ψάλλον διὰ τέσσαρα πάντες
> Ἕλληνες σπανίαν μοῦσαν ἀειράμενοι.

I give Bergk's text, who says '*ἀειράμενοι* de vitio suspectum, fort. *ἀθυρόμενοι*.' Read *ἀνευράμενοι* (unless, of course, this was corrupted from *ἀνευρόμενοι*) 'having discovered, invented' as *e.g.* Timocles *fr.* 6, Callim. *Ep.* xlvii, Ap. Rhod. iv. 1133, *A. P.* vii. 119, x. 46 etc.

Eur. *Bacch.* 446:

> λευκὴν δὲ χροιὰν εἰς παρασκευὴν ἔχεις
> οὐχ ἡλίου βολαῖσιν ἀλλ' ὑπὸ σκιᾶς,
> τὴν Ἀφροδίτην καλλονῇ θηρώμενος.

I feel no doubt whatever that *ἐκ παρασκευῆς* (Kirchhoff, adopted by Wecklein) is right, the corruption being due to mistake of ἐκ for εἰc. This is very frequent; an instance remains uncorrected in schol. Aesch. *Ag.* 106 ἔτι γὰρ θεόθεν καταπνείει πειθώ]...διὰ τὴν εἰς θεοὺς πειθώ... Read ἐκ θεῶν as before ἡ παρὰ θεῶν πίστις.

Eur. *Bacch.* 970—1012. I should not have offered a criticism of this most difficult passage without having studied it long. Where I feel no confidence, I shall not pretend to restore, but shall be content if I can contribute help towards the restoration.

972 ἀνοιστρήσατέ νιν
ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν γυναικομίμῳ στολᾷ
μαινάδων κατάσκοπον λυσσώδη.=τὰν ἀνίκατον ὡς κρατήσων βίᾳ.

A syllable is wanting after μαινάδων. Meineke inserts τόν, Thompson ἐπί. τὸν ἐν γ. στολᾷ might well be a phrase by itself, as, for instance, Lucian iii. 280 τὸν εὐπάρυφον λέγω, τὸν ἐν τῇ χλαμύδι. Dindorf's remark, however, deserves consideration: 'κατάσκοπον fortasse pro σκοπὸν ab librario positum est ex v. 956, tres autem syllabae vel ante vel post μαινάδων exciderunt.' *v.* 956 (949 K.) is ἐλθόντα δόλιον μαινάδων κατάσκοπον, where ἐλθόντα is noteworthy. Cf. Aesch. *P. V.* 115 τίς...ἵκετο τερμόνιον ἐπὶ πάγον πόνων ἐμῶν θεωρός...; 314 καὶ σὺ δὴ πόνων ἐμῶν ἥκεις ἐπόπτης; Hdt. iii. 21 ἥκετε γὰρ κατόπται τῆς ἐμῆς ἀρχῆς. Ar. *Av.* 1022 ἐπίσκοπος ἥκω. Lucian ii. 244 πρόρρησις ἦν ὥσπερ Ἀθήνησι τοιαύτη· εἴ τις ἄθεος...ἥκει κατάσκοπος τῶν ὀργίων, φευγέτω. Accepting σκοπόν, we might, therefore, read μαινάδων <ἱγμένον> σκοπὸν λυσσώδη. But there are other words which κατάσκοπον might have displaced, for it is used to explain its synonyms: Suid. σκοπός: κατάσκοπός τις, καὶ ἔφορος, καὶ ἀποσκοπῶν τὰ πόρρω, and Hesych. κατόπταν: κατάσκοπον. (κατόπταν occurs in *Rhes.* 133 τί γὰρ ἄμεινον ἢ κατόπταν μολεῖν. 545 τί ποτ' οὐ πελάθει σκοπός, ὃν ναῶν Ἕκτωρ ὤτρυνε κατόπταν;). And the whole phrase μαινάδων κατάσκοπον may have been quoted to explain another such as τὸν κατόπταν ἀφιγμένον (ἐπόρμενον) λυσσώδη. λυσσώδη itself is not free from suspicion. It is possible that it may be an adscript to φοιταλέον: cf. *e.g.* schol.

Ap. Rhod. iv. 55 *φοιταλέην: ἐμμανῆ, μανιώδως πορευομένην.* Hesych. *φοιταλέος: παράκοπος, μανιώδης.* id. *φοῖτος: μανία, λύσσα.* id. *φοιτῶντα ἄνδρα μανιάσι*[*ν νόσοις* Soph. *Aj.* 59]: *λυσσήμασι...* Or *λυσσωδῶν* may have been written to *φοιτάδων*, as the chorus call themselves in 157 *λωτὸς ὅταν* (*εὖτ' ἂν* !) *εὐκέλαδος ἱερὸς ἱερὰ παίγματα βρέμῃ σύνοχα φοιτάσιν εἰς ὄρος εἰς ὄρος*: in which case the text may have been *φοιτάδων ἐς κατασκοπὴν ὁρμένον* (*ἱγμένον*). Cf. *e.g.* 828 where Pentheus says *μολεῖν χρὴ πρῶτον εἰς κατασκοπήν.* Soph. *Phil.* 45 *τὸν οὖν παρόντα πέμψον εἰς κατασκοπήν.* Lucian i. 258 *καταπεμφθεὶς ἐς ἐπισκοπὴν τοῦ παιδός.* ii. 74 *ἀνελθεῖν ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ τῶν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ.*

975 *μάτηρ πρῶτά νιν λευρᾶς ἀπὸ πέτρας*
ἢ σκόλοπος ὄψεται δοκεύοντα, μαινάσιν δ' ἀπύσει·

'an *πρώτα*? Thompson.' Sandys. This conjecture, I think, ought to be accepted. *πρῶτα* seems pointless, while *πρώτα* is definitely supported by Theocritus xxvi. (*Λῆναι ἢ Βάκχαι*) 10:

Πενθεὺς δ' ἀλιβάτω πέτρας ἄπο πάντ' ἐθεώρει,
σχῖνον ἐς ἀρχαίαν καταδύς, ἐπιχώριον ἔρνος.
Αὐτονόα πράτα νιν ἀνέκραγε δεινὸν ἰδοῦσα,...

where Fritzsche quotes

Bacch. 1114 (1103 K.)

πρώτη δὲ μήτηρ ἦρξεν ἱερία φόνου
καὶ προσπίτνει νιν.

Ov. *Met.* iii. 710:

hic oculis illum cernentem sacra profanis
prima uidet, prima est insano concita motu,
prima suum misso uiolauit Penthea thyrso
mater: 'io geminae' clamauit 'adeste sorores.'

Cf. also 1168 ΧΟ. *τίς ά βαλοῦσα πρώτα;* ΑΓ. *ἐμὸν τὸ γέρας*, where the MS. has *πρῶτα*, corrected by Hermann. *μάτηρ νιν πρώτα*, however, seems a more rhythmical order.

The Messenger in his account says of Pentheus, himself, and Dionysus their unrecognised guide 1034 *λέπας Κιθαιρώνειον εἰσεβάλλομεν.* 1037 *πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ποιηρὸν ἵζομεν νάπος* . . .

ὡς ὁρῷμεν οὐχ ὁρώμενοι. ἦν δ' ἄγκος ἀμφίκρημνον, ὕδασι διάβροχον πεύκαιοι συσκιάζον, ἔνθα μαινάδες καθῆντο. The Maenads, therefore, are in the valley. Pentheus (1048) being unable to descry them clearly says *ὄχθον δ' ἐπεμβὰς ἢ ἐλάτην ὑψαύχενα ἴδοιμ' ἂν ὀρθῶς . .* Dionysus thereupon bends down the pine-branch and sets Pentheus upon it. It is in this position that he is seen by the Maenads (1084). From this it appears that *λευρᾶς ἀπὸ πέτρας* is to be taken with *δοκεύοντα*, of Pentheus, not with *ὄψεται*, of Agaue; and this is confirmed by Theocr. xxvi. 10 (quoted above). Elmsley remarked that in its proper sense 'a stake' *σκόλοψ* is combined with *πέτρα* in *I. T.* 1396 *ὡς . . λαβόντες αὐτοὺς ἢ κατὰ στύφλον πέτρας ῥίψωμεν, ἢ σκόλοψι πήξωμεν δέμας*, and Prof. Tyrrell suggests that recollection of these lines may here have caused interpolation of *ἢ σκόλοπος*. He, however, and Dr Sandys (see their notes) with others retain these words, but no one seems satisfied with the sense required of *σκόλοπος*. I cannot persuade myself that the metre is sound and that it should not be restored to simple dochmiacs, and am therefore inclined to read *εὔσκοπος* (Nauck) or *ἁ σκοπός* (corrupted through *ἡ σκοπός*).

978 *τίς ὅδε Καδμείων μάστηρ ὀριοδρόμων*
= 998 *τὸ σοφὸν οὐ φθονῶ· χαίρω θηρεύουσ'*

ὀριδρόμων Kirchhoff, Tyrrell (Sandys). 'But *ὀριδρόμοι*, used simply for the Bacchantes, seems rather strange, especially as followed by *ἐς ὄρος*. And as an epithet of *Καδμείων*, it is out of place.' Paley. One of these objections is met by Dr Sandys' suggestion to transpose with Nauck *Καδμείων* and *ὀριδρόμων* and render 'as a hunter after the Theban revellers on the hills,' the *Βάκχαι Καδμεῖαι* of 1149. But the conjunction of *ἐς ὄρος ἐς ὄρος* remains a grave objection to this epithet, which otherwise seems probable enough. A conjecture not recorded by the editors is *δριοδρόμων* made in the *Museum Criticum* ii. p. 667 by the reviewer (Blomfield ?) of Elmsley's and Hermann's editions of this play. Musurus gives *οὐριοδρόμων*, whence Matthiae (Hermann, Dindorf, Paley) conjectured *οὔριον δρόμον*. It seems worth while to add a caution against too hasty acceptance of this reading. Even if we knew *οὐριοδρόμων* to have MS.

authority it would be wise to hesitate before accepting it, for οὐριοδρομεῖν is a late word (Juncus in Stob. *Fl.* cvi. 49 etc.) in familiar use with writers of scholia: schol. Aesch. *Pers.* 605, *Cho.* 316, Ar. *Av.* 35, Soph. *Trach.* 815, Pind. *O.* ix. 34, *N.* v. 94, *I.* ii. 58, Eur. *Med.* 278, Hom. Α 481 etc. Schoene conjectured ὀργίων δρόμῳ, Wecklein ὀρθρεύων. I have nothing positive to suggest: but for ὀργίων cf. Lucian ii. 244 (quoted on *v.* 974).

993—995 γνώμαν σώφρονα θάνατος ἀπροφάσιστος
εἰς τὰ θεῶν ἔφυ
βροτείῳ τ' ἔχειν ἄλυπος βίος.

'Tandem pervenimus' says Elmsley of 993—1001 'ad locum totius tragoediae difficillimum, quem ut insanabilem uncinis inclusit et intactum reliquit Brunckius.' I trust that this *Camarina*, which Brunck declined to touch, may not be thought to have been better left unstirred.

Musurus gives βροτείῳ . . βίῳ on which I shall comment presently. The position from which I start is that ἄλυπος βίος is a predicate such as

Eur. *fr.* 30 οἰκτρός τις αἰὼν πατρίδος ἐκλιπεῖν ὅρους.
„ *I. T.* 1096 τὸ δὲ μετ' εὐτυχίαν κακοῦσθαι θνατοῖς βαρὺς αἰών.
„ *Bacch.* 388 τό τε μὴ θνητὰ φρονεῖν βραχὺς αἰών.
„ „ 884 κουφὰ γὰρ δαπάνα νομίζειν ἰσχὺν τόδ' ἔχειν.
„ „ 1152 καλὸς ἀγὼν ἐν αἵματι στάζουσαν χέρα περιβαλεῖν τέκνου.
Pind. *O.* ix. 37 ἐπεὶ τό γε λοιδορῆσαι θεοὺς ἐχθρὰ σοφία.
„ *P.* ii. 91 ποτὶ κέντρον δέ τοι λακτισδέμεν τελέθει ὀλισθηρὸς οἶμος.
„ *N.* viii. 20 νεαρὰ δ' ἐξευρόντα δόμεν βασάνῳ ἅπας κίνδυνος.

It is plainly not necessary that any verb (such as ἐστί, γίγνεται, τελέθει) should be expressed. The first question, then, that meets us, assuming ἄλυπος βίος to be a predicate, is whether the copula is unexpressed or whether it is ἔφυ. The rhythm of the sentence seems to be strongly against the second alternative. Prof. Tyrrell, reading ἐς τὰ θεῶν ἔφυ βροτείων τ' with Canter and Heath, and with Matthiae, Dind., Wecklein, constructing ἄλυπος βίος ἔφυ ἔχειν . . , truly remarks that ‘ἔφυ is in a very unnatural position.’ He would himself prefer to eject it (and in the strophe to eject ἢ σκόλοπος). The arrangements which, retaining ἔφυ, avoid the extreme awkwardness of order are (1) Hermann's:

> τὰν ἀνίκατον ὡς κρατήσων βίᾳ
> γνώμαν σώφρον', ἃ θνατοῖς ἀπροφάσιστος
> εἰς τὰ θεῶν ἔφυ,
> βροτείῳ τ' ἔχειν ἄλυπος βίῳ.

(θνατοῖς is due to Heath.) (2) Thompson's:

> γνώμα σώφρων, ἃ θνατοῖς ἀπροφάσιστος
> εἰς τὰ θεῶν ἔφυ,
> βροτείῳ γ' ἔχειν ἄλυπος βίῳ.

(3) Dr Sandys':

> γνώμαν σώφρον', ἃ θνατοῖς ἀπροφασίστοις
> εἰς τὰ θεῶν ἔφυ,
> βροτείαν τ' ἔχειν ἄλυπος βίος.

(βροτείαν is Elmsley's conjecture.) ‘Life becomes painless if we keep a temper befitting mortals, a temper which belongs to mortal men who are prompt in their obedience to things divine.’

None of these is free from serious objection. If we retain βροτείῳ we must also read βίῳ, for though φῶτα βρότειον in 531 is good, as in Aesch. *P. V.* 117, βρότειος is never used like θνητός as a substantive. But even if we thus give up ἄλυπος βίος, the tautology of θνατοῖς and βροτείῳ βίῳ is intolerable. It would be better to read βροτείαν with Elmsley (or βρότειον, which Schoene prefers). ‘Quid sit γνώμην βροτείαν ἔχειν docet noster Alc. 802 (811 K.) ὄντας δὲ θνητοὺς θνητὰ καὶ φρονεῖν χρεών.’ Elmsley. I do not know a case of βρότειος being used in the sense ‘befitting a mortal’ in which θνητός is good (θνητὰ φρονεῖν Epicharm. (?) *ap.* Aristot. 1394^b 24, Soph. *Tr.* 472, *fr.* 531, Eur. *Bacch.* 389, *fr.* 986, Antiphan. *fr.* 289, θνητὰ λογίζεσθαι *A. P.* xi. 56) and ἀνθρωπινός (ἀνθρωπινὰ φρονεῖν Aristot. 1177^b 32, Lucian). Admitting it, I cannot believe in ἃ θνατοῖς ἀπροφασίστοις εἰς τὰ θεῶν ἔφυ ‘a temper which belongs to mortal men who are prompt in their obedience to things divine.' Far better to keep ἀπροφάσιστος, but even so θνατοῖς seems misplaced in a relative clause, itself by no means elegant.

I believe that ἔφυ is corrupt, and that it is an error for *φύσει*. The change is very much easier than it may appear. *φύσει*, a phrase very common in the language both of grammar (Bast on Greg. Cor. pp. 602, 836) and of law, is constantly written in a compendium. Bast (tab. vii. 5) gives an illustration of it from a grammatical treatise, thus $\phi^{\acute{\upsilon}}$: and Messrs. Paton and Hicks (*Inscriptions of Cos* 61 p. 115) show a siglum for *φύσει* in the legal sense, thus $\overset{\upsilon}{\Phi}$. It is evident that the passage with which we are dealing needs many alterations, but as Paley remarks 'the near correspondence of the metres does not indicate an extensive corruption.' The result appears to me to be such as might most easily have arisen from an archetype much contracted or much effaced. The theory, therefore, that φυ became ἔφυ, when this reading *φύσει* enables us to retain *βροτείῳ* and simplifies the construction, I cannot but regard as highly probable. Euripides uses *βρότειος* as of two terminations in *El.* 738 *δυστυχίᾳ βροτείῳ*, *fr.* 52 *εὐγένειαν βρότειον*. In *Rhes.* 921 where *βροτείαν ἐς χέρα* ends an iambic line Elmsley restored *βρότειον*. As I have remarked, scribes constantly tend in such cases to write the feminine form. *βρότειος φύσις* occurs in Philip. *Anth. Plan.* 52 *ἀπιστῶν εἰ βρότειος ἡ φύσις*. Soph. *fr.* 531 *θνητὰ φρονεῖν χρὴ θνητὴν φύσιν* is not certain, but *βρότειος φύσις* : *βρότειον γένος* (*Hipp.* 613, *Hel.* 1339) :: *γυναικεία φύσις* (Soph. *fr.* 524, Menand. *fr.* 801) : *γυναίκειον γένος* (Aesch. *Theb.* 17, Eur. *Phoen.* 357, *Med.* 419, *I. T.* 1267). γ' might now easily be read for τ', and may be right. I suspect, however, that our text arose through $\text{ΒΡΟΤΕΙΩΙ}\overset{\text{ΕΧΕΙΝ}}{\text{ΤΡΕΦΕΙΝ}}$. Similar results of adscription are found elsewhere: thus in Aesch. *Cho.* 318 M has *σκότῳ φάος ἰσοτίμοιρον* which, as Erfurdt saw, arose through $\overset{\text{ΙϹΟ}}{\text{ΑΝΤΙ}}\text{ΜΟΙΡΟΝ}$ *i.e.* *ἰσόμοιρον* superscribed (*ἀντι-* in this sense is regularly explained by *ἰσο-*).—In Soph. *O. C.* 502 Hermann saw that *οὐδ' ὑφηγητοῦ δ' ἄνευ* arose through $\overset{\text{ΑΝΕΥ}}{\text{ΔΙΧΑ}}$.—In Pind. *P.* ii. 8

κείνας ἀγαναῖσιν ἐν χερσί] 'MQ *εὐαγαναῖσιν*, quod ex interpretatione *εὐεπιτηδείαις* suprascripta (ut in C) est repetendum.' Bergk, whom see also on *v.* 24.—In Pseudophocyl. 141 Bergk thinks that the reading *ἀλίτροπον μή ποτ' ἐλέγξῃς* arose thus: 'In archetypo fuit $\overset{\text{τρ}}{\text{ἀλιπὸν}}$, nam $\overline{\pi}$ et $\overline{\tau\rho}$ passim confunduntur; cum scriba vitium correxisset, inde ortum *ἀλίτροπον*.'—So Pseudophocyl. 225:

> *στίγματα μὴ γράψῃς, ἐπονειδίζων θεράποντα.*
> *δοῦλον μὴ βλάψῃς τι*

in 226 for *βλάψῃς* V$_1$T have *γράψῃς* but B *πλάψῃς* which arose through $\overset{\text{ΓΡ}}{\text{ΒΛάΨΗΙϹ}}$, ΓΡ being mistaken for *π*.—In 113 for *ξυνός* some MSS. have *κοινός*, but M has *ξοινός* probably through $\overset{\text{ΚΟΙΝΟϹ}}{\text{ΞΥΝΟϹ}}$. In 135 for *παραθήκην* V$_1$ has *πακαταθήκην* through $\overset{\text{ΚΑΤΑ}}{\text{ΠΑΡΑΘΗΚΗΝ}}$.—In Eur. *Hec.* 605 *λαβοῦσα τεῦχος* BC have *τ' ἄγγος* E *τἄγγος* through $\overset{\text{ΑΓΓΟϹ}}{\text{ΤΕΥΧΟϹ}}$ (*ἄγγος* being the explanation as in Hesych., etc.).—In *Phoen.* 435 *τοῖς φιλτάτοις τοκεῦσιν* 'schol. (etiam in cod. A): *γράφεται καὶ ἑκοῦσιν* (*τεκοῦσι* Aug. Flor. 33. *τοκεῦσιν* Ven.), *ἵν' ᾖ τῷ ἀδελφῷ μου· ὁ γὰρ Ἐτεοκλῆς ἑκὼν πορθεῖ τὴν βασιλείαν διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀφίστασθαι ταύτης*.' Kirchhoff. This variant arose through $\overset{\text{ΕΚΟΥϹΙΝ}}{\text{ΤΟΚΕΥϹΙΝ}}$ the intention having been to record a variant *τεκοῦσιν*.—In Aesch. *Cho.* 86 M has *τύφω* to which m has written *οἶμαι τύμβῳ* and doubtless *τύφω* resulted from confusion of ΤΥΜΒΩ with ΤΑΦΩ.—In *Eum.* 1035 *εὐθύφρονι* for *εὔφρονι* may well have been caused by *εὐθύφρονες* in 1041; but it might have arisen through $\overset{\text{ΕΥΘΥΜΩΙ}}{\text{ΕΥΦΡΟΝΙ}}$ since *εὔθυμος*, *εὐθυμία* are the regular explanations of *εὔφρων*, *εὐφροσύνη* (Hesych. *εὐφροσύνη*: *εὐθυμία*. In an epigram of Theaetetus (Diog. L. iv. 25), Mr Mackail's conjecture *εὐφροσύνῃ* for *εὐθυμίῃ* is doubtless right. In Aesch. *Ag.* 1592 *εὐθύμως*, since it is immediately preceded by *προθύμως* in 1591, may have displaced *εὐφρόνως*—unless *εὐφήμως* was the true word).

These illustrations will show that my supposition is not wild or fanciful. Now *τρέφειν* is constantly explained by *ἔχειν* (Hesych. *τρέφειν*: *ἔχειν*..., sch. Pind. *O.* x. 115, sch. Soph. *Aj.* 503, 644, *O. T.* 356, *Ant.* 660, 897, *Trach.* 28, 117, 817, *O. C.* 186). Naturally, therefore, in some places we find *ἔχειν* as a variant, as in Pind. *O.* x. 115 (95 B) *τρέφοντι δ' εὐρὺ κλέος κόραι Πιερίδες Διός.* '*τρέφοντι* vett. l. (pauci *τρέφουσι*) et sch. vet., vulgo ex interpolatione *ἔχοντι*.' Bergk. In Eur. *fr.* 324, *v.* 6 is rightly given in Stobaeus *Fl.* xci. 4 *οὐ θαῦμ' ἔρωτας μυρίους αὐτὴν τρέφειν* but in Athen. 159 c...*ἔχειν.* And here is one case at any rate where *τρέφειν* can be restored without MS. authority: Eur. *fr.* 402 (Stob. *Fl.* lxviii. 12):

νόμοι γυναικῶν οὐ καλῶς κεῖνται πέρι·
χρῆν γὰρ τὸν εὐτυχοῦνθ' ὅπως πλείστας ἔχειν
γυναῖκας, εἴπερ τροφὴ δόμοις παρῆν,
ὡς τὴν κακὴν μὲν ἐξέβαλλε δωμάτων
τὴν δ' οὖσαν ἐσθλὴν ἡδέως ἐσῴζετο.

'v. 3 interpolatoris esse recte iudicat S. Mekler.' Nauck. Mekler is certainly right; but what was the reason of the interpolation? This, that *v.* 2 was originally *χρῆν γὰρ τὸν εὐτυχοῦνθ' ὅπως πλείστας τρέφειν*, and the text we find is an attempt to explain *τρέφειν.* But the use of *τρέφειν* to 'keep' (wives, slaves, dogs) needs no explanation for us (*τ. γυναῖκα* Theopompus *fr.* 55, Eur. *I. A.* 748, *ἄλοχον Hel.* 1278, etc.). Exactly the same history that I suppose in *Bacch.* 995 has been already supposed in Soph. *O. T.* 294:

ἀλλ' εἴ τι μὲν δὴ δείματος τ' ἔχει μέρος,
τὰς σὰς ἀκούων οὐ μενεῖ τοιάσδ' ἀράς.

'The 1st hand in L wrote *δείματοστ*' (there is no trace of an accent on *ο*,) joining *στ* in one character; the corrector afterwards wrote *τ'* separately, as in 134, 257. (The facsimile shows that this *τ'* was not made from *γ'*.) *δείματός τ'* was the reading of almost all the later MSS.: indeed, it does not appear certain that any one of them has *γ'*.' Jebb. The facts given in this admirably minute account seem to me in favour of Wunder's conjecture (adopted by Dindorf) *τρέφει.* It is doubtless by an oversight that Prof. Jebb, who reads *δείματός γ' ἔχει*, has omitted to record Wunder's conjecture. Blaydes indeed says 'Here however τρέφει would be unsuitable,' but, as I think, without justice. In *Trach.* 28 we have ἀεί τιν' ἐκ φόβου φόβον τρέφω (in *Trach.* 108 Prof. Jebb with most editors accepts Casaubon's conjecture εὔμναστον ἀνδρὸς δεῖμα τρέφουσαν ὁδοῦ for φέρουσαν), and in Aesch. *Eum.* 525 no question but an exactly similar expression is obscured:

τίς δὲ μηδὲν ἐν φάει
καρδίαν ἀνατρέφων
ἢ πόλις βροτός θ' ὁμοίως ἔτ' ἂν σέβοι δίκαν;

where something like ἐν βάθει (anon.) καρδίας (Canter) δέος (suppl. Campbell) τρέφων is probable. δέος or a synonymous word is required by the sense, and it is doubtless τρέφων that is imbedded in ἀνατρέφων. (This compound is habitual with scholiasts and is regularly used to paraphrase the simple word; thus ἀνατροφή constantly paraphrases τροφή: so sch. Hom. A 414 ἔτρεφον] ἀνέθρεψα, Hesych. σύντροφον: συνανάτροφον etc.). At any rate there can be no objection in point of language to γνώμαν . . . φύσει βροτείῳ τρέφειν, ἄλυπος βίος. Now, what manner of mind is it that the chorus advise man's nature to preserve? The language of the Bacchanals throughout this brilliant picture of religious enthusiasm is the right language of supernatural belief. Their cry is *acquiescence in tradition* as opposed to *scepticism, man's wisdom*: 70 τὰ νομισθέντα γὰρ ἀεὶ Διόνυσον [ὑμνήσω]. 192 KA. οὐ καταφρονῶ 'γὼ τοὺς θεοὺς θνητὸς γεγώς. TE. οὐδὲν σοφιζόμεσθα τοῖσι δαίμοσιν. πατρίους παραδοχὰς ἅς θ' ὁμήλικας χρόνῳ κεκτήμεθ', οὐδεὶς αὐτὰ καταβαλεῖ λόγος, οὐδ' εἰ δι' ἄκρων τὸ σοφὸν εὕρηται φρενῶν. 324 KA. οἴκει μεθ' ἡμῶν, μὴ θύραζε τῶν νόμων. νῦν γὰρ πέτῃ τε καὶ φρονῶν οὐδὲν φρονεῖς κ.τ.λ. 379 XO. ἀχαλίνων στομάτων ἀνόμου τ' ἀφροσύνας τὸ τέλος δυστυχία· ὁ δὲ τᾶς ἡσυχίας βίοτος καὶ τὸ φρονεῖν ἀσάλευτόν τε μένει καὶ συνέχει δώματα· . . . τὸ σοφὸν δ' οὐ σοφία, τό τε μὴ θνητὰ φρονεῖν βραχὺς αἰών . . . 416 μισεῖ δ' (ὁ δαίμων) ᾧ μὴ ταῦτα μέλει, κατὰ φάος νύκτας τε φίλας εὐαίωνα διαζῆν. σοφὰν δ' (σοφὸν δ' Musur.) ἀπέχειν πραπίδα φρένα τε περισσῶν παρὰ φωτῶν· τὸ πλῆθος ὅ τι τὸ φαυλότερον ἐνόμισε χρῆταί τε τόδ' ἂν δεχοίμην. 875

ἀπευθύνει δὲ (τὸ θεῖον) βροτῶν τοὺς ἀγνωμοσύναν τιμῶντας καὶ μὴ τὰ θεῶν αὔξοντας σὺν μαινομένᾳ δόξᾳ . . . οὐ γὰρ κρεῖσσόν ποτε τῶν νόμων γιγνώσκειν χρὴ καὶ μελετᾶν, κουφὰ γὰρ δαπάνα νομίζειν ἰσχὺν τόδ' ἔχειν ὅ τι πότ' ἄρα τὸ δαιμόνιον τό τ' ἐν χρόνῳ μακρῷ νόμιμον ἀεὶ φύσει τε πεφυκός. (Compare with these passages Job xxviii. 28 Behold the fear of the Lord, that is wisdom, and to depart from evil, that is understanding. Proverbs iii. 7 Be not wise in thine own eyes: fear the Lord and depart from evil. Paul. *Ep.* 1 *Cor.* i. 17 οὐ γὰρ ἀπέστειλέν με Χριστὸς βαπτίζειν ἀλλὰ εὐαγγελίζεσθαι, οὐκ ἐν σοφίᾳ λόγου, ἵνα μὴ κενωθῇ ὁ σταυρὸς τοῦ χριστοῦ. ὁ λόγος γὰρ ὁ τοῦ σταυροῦ τοῖς μὲν ἀπολλυμένοις μωρία ἐστίν, τοῖς δὲ σωζομένοις ἡμῖν δύναμις θεοῦ ἐστίν. γέγραπται γάρ· Ἀπολῶ τὴν σοφίαν τῶν σοφῶν, καὶ τὴν σύνεσιν τῶν συνετῶν ἀθετήσω κ.τ.λ. ii. 4 ὁ λόγος μου καὶ τὸ κήρυγμά μου οὐκ ἐν πιθανοῖς σοφίας λόγοις ἀλλ' ἐν ἀποδείξει πνεύματος καὶ δυνάμεως, ἵνα ἡ πίστις ὑμῶν μὴ ᾖ ἐν σοφίᾳ ἀνθρώπων ἀλλ' ἐν δυνάμει θεοῦ. σοφίαν δὲ λαλοῦμεν ἐν τοῖς τελείοις, σοφίαν δὲ οὐ τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου κ.τ.λ. ii. 13 ἃ καὶ λαλοῦμεν οὐκ ἐν διδακτοῖς ἀνθρωπίνης σοφίας λόγοις ἀλλ' ἐν διδακτοῖς πνεύματος. iii. 18 μηδεὶς ἑαυτὸν ἐξαπατάτω. εἴ τις δοκεῖ σοφὸς εἶναι ἐν ὑμῖν ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ, μωρὸς γενέσθω, ἵνα γένηται σοφός, ἡ γὰρ σοφία τοῦ κόσμου τούτου μωρία παρὰ τῷ θεῷ ἐστίν κ.τ.λ.). It is plain that such a temper may well be called ἀπροφάσιστος εἰς τὰ θεῶν. This word is commonly used of *unquestioning*, *unhesitating* obedience, acquiescence, venture, etc. Pollux i. 43 λέγε δὲ περὶ τοῦ μὴ βραδύνοντος ἕτοιμος, πρόχειρος, πρόθυμος, ἄοκνος, ταχύς, ὀξύς, ἔντονος, ἔνεργος, ἀπροφάσιστος. i. 156 ἄνδρες ἰταμοί, ἀπροφάσιστοι. iii. 120 πρόθυμος, . . ἄοκνος, . . ἴτης, . . ἀπροφάσιστος, ἕτοιμος, πρόχειρος. Thuc. iii. 82 ἀπροφασίστως τολμᾶν. vi. 83 προθυμίαν ἀπροφάσιστον παρεσχόμεθα. viii. 2 ἀπροφασίστως ἅπτεσθαι διενοοῦντο τοῦ πολέμου. Dem. *Epitaph.* 1396. 1 δύναμιν λαβόντες ἔχουσαν θυμὸν ἀήττητον καὶ ἀπροφάσιστον. Xen. *Anab.* ii. 6. 10 ἀπροφασίστως ἰέναι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους. *Cyrop.* ii. 3 τὸ γὰρ τοῖς ἄρχουσι πείθεσθαι πᾶσιν ἐν κοινῷ κεῖται, καὶ ὃς ἂν φανῇ τοῦτο ἀπροφασίστως ποιῶν . . viii. 1. 29 τοὺς ἀπροφασίστως πειθομένους. *Hieron* 7. 2 ὅπως ὑπηρετῶσι μὲν ὑμῖν πάντες πάντα τὰ προσταττόμενα ἀπροφασίστως.

Cyrop. ii. 4. 10 τοὺς μέλλοντας ἀπροφασίστους συμμάχους ἔσεσθαι. *Hipparch.* 2. 9 εἰ μέλλουσιν ἀπροφάσιστοι ἔσεσθαι τῷ ἡγουμένῳ. *Ages.* 11. 13 ἐκεῖνον οἱ μὲν συγγενεῖς φιλοκηδεμόνα ἐκάλουν, οἱ δὲ χρώμενοι ἀπροφάσιστον. 6. 4 ἀπροφασίστους τοὺς φίλους ἐκέκτητο. *Hellenic.* vi. 5. 41 κτήσασθαι τούτους εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον φίλους ἀπροφασίστους. And doubtless in the eyes of the Bacchanals such an attitude of mind is also σῶφρον· cf. 1330 ΔΙ. εἰ δὲ σωφρονεῖν ἔγνωθ', ὅτ' οὐκ ἠθέλετε, τὸν Διὸς γόνον εὐδαιμονοῖτ' ἂν σύμμαχον κεκτημένοι. 322 ΧΟ. τιμῶν τε Βάκχον σωφρονεῖς, μέγαν θεόν. 1139 ΑΓΓΕΛ. τὸ σωφρονεῖν δὲ καὶ σέβειν τὰ τῶν θεῶν κάλλιστον· οἶμαι δ' αὐτὸ καὶ σοφώτατον θνητοῖσιν εἶναι κτῆμα τοῖσι χρωμένοις ('the fear of the Lord, that is wisdom'). But σώφρων and ἀπροφάσιστος are more naturally opposed to one another. In his account of the Corcyrean sedition Thucydides (iii. 82) says: τόλμα μὲν γὰρ ἀλόγιστος ἀνδρία φιλέταιρος ἐνομίσθη, μέλλησις δὲ προμηθὴς δειλία εὐπρεπής, τὸ δὲ σῶφρον τοῦ ἀνάνδρου πρόσχημα . . . . καὶ μὴν καὶ τὸ ξυγγενὲς τοῦ ἑταιρικοῦ ἀλλοτριώτερον ἐγένετο διὰ τὸ ἑτοιμότερον εἶναι ἀπροφασίστως τολμᾶν. I suspect that the temper recommended by the Chorus is ἐν θνητοῖς μὲν σώφρων, εἰς δὲ τὰ θεῶν ἀπροφάσιστος, and I therefore propose

γνώμαν σώφρον' ἐν θνατοῖς ἀπρόφατον δ'
εἰς τὰ θεῶν φύσει
βροτείῳ τρέφειν ἄλυπος βίος.

993 is thus made two dochmiacs. ἀπρόφατος occurs, the adjective in Aratus *Phaen.* 424, *Diosem.* 36, Ap. Rhod. i. 645, ii. 268, Nicander *Alex.* 598, *Ep.* Kaibel 1046. 93, the adverb in Ap. Rhod. i. 1201, ii. 62, 580, 1087, iii. 1117, iv. 1005, Agamestor *fr.* in Tzetzes on Lycophr. *Al.* 178, Orph. *Arg.* 621, 663, Oppian *Cyn.* 322; and is explained by ἀπροφάσιστος in the scholia to Ap. Rhod. i. 645 δίνας ἀπροφάτους] ἀπροσφωνήτους, ἀπροφασίστους. ii. 268 στεροπαὶ ὥς ἀπρόφατοι] ἀπρόφατοι ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀπροόρατοι, ἀπροφάσιστοι, οἷον ἄνευ προφάσεως καὶ ἐποχῆς καὶ ὑπερθέσεως, παρόσον τοῖς προφασιζομένοις παρέπεται ὑπέρθεσις. Cf. ii. 62 sch. ἀδιστάκτως, ἀδιακρίτως, μηδὲν πρὸς τὴν ἀναίρεσιν προφασισά-

μενος. iv. 1005 sch. *χωρὶς προφάσεως, ἀναντιρρήτως.* It may seem more plausible to read *ἀπροφάτως ἐς τὰ θεῶν... ἔχειν*, but I cannot suit the rest to this. If *θνατοῖς* became *θάνατος* (in Aesch. *Eum.* 337 M has *θανάτων* for *θνατῶν*),
ἀπροφάσιστ`
ἀπροφάσιστος might then have resulted from *ἀπρόφατ` δ'*.

996 *τὸ σοφὸν οὐ φθονῶ· χαίρω θηρεύουσ-*
α τὰ δ' ἕτερα μεγάλα φανερὰ τῶν ἀεί,
ἐπὶ τὰ καλὰ βίον
ἦμαρ εἰς νύκτα τ' εὖ ἄγουντ' εὐσεβεῖν,
τὰ δ' ἔξω νόμιμα δίκας ἐκβαλόντ-
α τιμᾶν θεούς.

Musurus has *τὸν σοφὸν οὐ φθόνῳ* and Elmsley, Hermann, Dindorf, Paley, Tyrrell read *τὸ σοφὸν οὐ φθόνῳ χαίρω θηρεύουσα, τὰ δ' ἕτερα...* If *οὐ φθόνῳ* be understood in its natural sense 'without stint' (= *ἀφθόνως*), it seems incredible that the Chorus should profess to delight in pursuing without stint *τὸ σοφόν*, which before, as we have seen, they have so emphatically and so unconditionally repudiated. Paley suggests a different sense: 'The poet seems to say that philosophy (or *rationalism*) is not to be pursued so far as to offend the gods; but the other course also (viz. religious reverence and obedience) is proved to be of great avail in whatever conduces to the happiness of life, namely to pass one's time piously by night and day, and to honour the gods, rejecting all unlawful practices.' This interpretation is followed by Prof. Tyrrell, who renders: 'I care not to pursue rationalism in such a manner as to offend the gods, but the other course (*γνώμαν σώφρονα ἔχειν κ.τ.λ.*) is plainly of great influence in whatever conduces to good, ...' But this is as though we had *οὐ χαίρω φθόνῳ θηρεύουσα. οὐ φθόνῳ* must be taken together, and even if we conceive the Chorus as dallying at all with *τὸ σοφόν*, it seems to me impossible for *οὐ φθόνῳ* in this sentence to mean 'without the envy of the gods.' I retain, therefore, with Schoene, Kirchhoff, Nauck, Sandys and Wecklein, *τὸ σοφὸν οὐ φθονῶ·* and further believe that Nauck is right in ejecting *τὰ δ'*, which was probably inserted by a scribe who read *τὸ σοφὸν οὐ φθόνῳ χαίρω θηρεύουσα.* We have, then,

τὸ σοφὸν οὐ φθονῶ· χαίρω θηρεύουσ'
997 ἕτερα μεγάλα φανερὰ τῶν ἀεί
=979 ἐς ὄρος ἐς ὄρος ἔμολεν ἔμολεν, ὦ Βάκχαι.

Now in 979 P has εἰς ὄρος εἰς ὄρος ἔμολεν ἔμολεν, Musurus ἐς ὄρος ἐς ὄρος ἔμολεν. To suit this line to their readings in 997 Nauck would write ἐς ὄρος only once, while Elmsley wrote ἐς ὄρος ἐς ὄρος ἔμολ' ἔμολεν, which Wecklein follows. But Hermann's criticism, I think, is sound: 'At si iterasset Euripides ἔμολεν, plene, opinor, ut in Pal. est, ἔμολεν ἔμολεν scripsisset.' The probability is that he did so write, as in *Hipp.* 583, *Hel.* 195, and that he also repeated ἐς ὄρος as in *Bacch.* 115, 160; for not only is such repetition characteristic of Euripides, but 979 as written above forms two dochmiac verses. What then are we to read in 997?

It is noticeable that in this play, so full of tragic irony, we have more than one sinister reiteration of phrase. Thus it is of Dionysus taken prisoner that the messenger says in 423 Πενθεῦ, πάρεσμεν τήνδ' ἄγραν ἠγρευκότες, but it is of Pentheus himself that the phrase is later used with reverberating suggestion of retribution: 1172 ΧΟ. εὐτυχής γ' ἅδ' ἄγρα... 1181 ΧΟ. ὁ γὰρ ἄναξ ἀγρεύς. 1183 ΑΓ. τάχα δὲ Καδμεῖοι ΧΟ. καὶ παῖς γε Πενθεὺς ματέρ' ΑΓ. ἐπαινέσεται ΧΟ. λαβοῦσαν ἄγραν ΑΓ. τάνδε λεοντοφυῆ ΧΟ. περισσάν ΑΓ. περισσῶς. ΧΟ. ἀγάλλει; ΑΓ. γέγηθα μεγάλα μεγάλα καὶ φανερὰ τᾷδ' ἄγρᾳ (so Nauck for τάδ' ἔργα: τᾷδε γᾷ L. Dindorf) κατειργασμένα. ΧΟ. δεῖξόν νυν, ὦ τάλαινα, τὴν νικηφόρον ἀστοῖσιν ἄγραν ἣν φέρουσ' ἐλήλυθας. ΑΓ. ὦ καλλίπυργον ἄστυ Θηβαίας χθονὸς ναίοντες, ἔλθεθ' ὡς ἴδητε τήνδ' ἄγραν. Surely in consideration of 1187 nothing can be more probable in 996 than

τὸ σοφὸν οὐ φθονῶ· χαίρω θηρεύουσ'
ἕτερα μεγάλα <μεγάλα> φανερά τ'.

But what is the import of this expression, which is afterwards echoed with such bitter emphasis? It will be illustrated, I believe, by the following passages:

Or. 482:

ΜΕ. πᾶν τοὐξ ἀνάγκης δοῦλόν ἐστ' ἐν τοῖς σοφοῖς.
ΤΥ. κέκτησό νυν σὺ τοῦτ'· ἐγὼ δ' οὐ κτήσομαι.

ΜΕ. ὀργὴ γὰρ ἅμα σου καὶ τὸ γῆρας οὐ σοφόν.
ΤΥ. πρὸς τόνδ᾽ ἀγών τις σοφίας ἥκει πέρι
εἰ τὰ καλὰ πᾶσι φανερὰ καὶ τὰ μὴ καλά,
τούτου τίς ἀνδρῶν γένετ᾽ ἀσυνετώτερος...

[485 πρὸς τόνδε σοφίας τίς ἂν ἀγὼν ἥκοι πέρι; Porson. 487 'γένετ᾽ AB γένοιτ᾽ F ἐγένετ᾽ c γένετ᾽ C. fort.: τούτου τίς ἂν γένοιτ᾽ ἂν ἀσυνετώτερος;' Kirchhoff.]

Or. 811:

τὸ καλὸν οὐ καλόν, τοκέων
πυριγενεῖ τέμνειν παλάμᾳ χρόα.

Phoen. 500:

εἰ πᾶσι ταὐτὸ καλὸν ἔφυ σοφόν θ᾽ ἅμα,
οὐκ ἦν ἂν ἀμφίλεκτος ἀνθρώπων ἔρις...

Eur. *fr.* 136:

σὺ δ᾽, ὦ θεῶν τύραννε κἀνθρώπων Ἔρως,
ἢ μὴ δίδασκε τὰ καλὰ φαίνεσθαι καλά,
ἢ τοῖς ἐρῶσιν εὐτυχῶς συνεκπόνει
μοχθοῦσι μόχθους ὧν σὺ δημιουργὸς εἶ.

('Love has eyes': cf. Lucian i. 234 where Eros says: *καίτοι τί ἐγὼ ἀδικῶ δεικνὺς τὰ καλὰ οἷά ἐστιν; ὑμεῖς δὲ μὴ ἐφίεσθε τῶν καλῶν· μὴ τοίνυν ἐμὲ αἰτιᾶσθε τούτων.* On the contrary, Daphnis maintains that 'Love is blind' in Theocr. vi. 18 *ἦ γὰρ ἔρωτι πολλάκις, ὦ Πολύφαμε, τὰ μὴ καλὰ καλὰ πέφανται.* Cf. Marc. Arg. *A. P.* v. 89.)

Cf. the proverb *ἄλλα παρ᾽ ἄλλοις καλά*: Eustath. 1760. 2, 245. 13 (where E. Kurtz, to whom I owe both these references, corrects for *κακά*), Soph. *O. C.* 43, on which Wunder quotes Plut. *Themist.* 27.

The doctrine in these passages affirmed or denied is, *τὰ καλὰ πᾶσι φανερὰ καὶ τὰ μὴ καλά* (*Or.* 486): the perception of *τὰ καλά* is instinctive in all, and requires no *σοφία* (*Or.* 482—485). Can it be doubted that this is the antithesis in our passage?

It appears then that *τὰ καλά* are spoken of as *ἕτερα μεγάλα μεγάλα φανερά τ᾽*. The *ἕτερα* do not *lead to τὰ καλά*: they *are τὰ καλά.* The conjectures, therefore, *ἰόντ᾽ ἀεὶ ἐπὶ τὰ καλά*

(Thompson), ἄγοντ' ἀεὶ ἐπὶ τὰ καλὰ βίον (Fix), are untenable; whereas Musgrave's φανερά τ' ὄντ' is possible, and I see nothing better. We might perhaps read ἄγει δ' ἐπὶ τὰ καλὰ βίον ἦμαρ εἰς νύκτα τ' εὐαγοῦντ' εὐσεβεῖν,...but again I think that reverence and worship are not spoken of as leading to τὰ καλά but as being τὰ καλά. I suggest, therefore,

τὸ σοφὸν οὐ φθονῶ· χαίρω θηρεύουσ'
ἕτερα μεγάλα μεγάλα φανερά τ' ὄντ' ἀεί.
ἐπεὶ τὰ καλὰ βίου
ἦμαρ εἰς νύκτα τ' εὐαγοῦντ' εὐσεβεῖν,...

(εὐαγοῦντ' Hermann from Theocr. xxvi. 30) 'for the beauty of life is to worship in reverence...,' and in the corresponding verse τίς ἆρά νιν ἔτεκεν; the rhythm being as ἀνοιστρήσατέ νιν = μανείσᾳ πραπίδι. Paley had already suggested τὰ καλὰ βίου in a different sense. Compare *I. A.* 20 καὶ μὴν τὸ καλόν γ' ἐνταῦθα βίου (where, however, Paley takes βίου with ἐνταῦθα). Or ἐπεὶ τὰ καλά, βίον...εὐαγοῦντ' εὐσεβεῖν, taking βίον εὐσεβεῖν together according to the usual interpretation, as *v.* 74 βιοτὰν ἁγιστεύει.

Finally, I propose to read 1006—1012 thus:

φάνηθι ταῦρος ἢ πολύκρανος ἰδεῖν
1007 δράκων πυριφλέγων θ' ὁρᾶσθαι λέων.
ἴθ', ὦ Βάκχε, θηραγρευτᾷ βακχᾶν
1010 φαιδρωπὸς βρόχον
περίβαλε θανάσιμον
ἐπ' ἀγέλαν πεσόντι τὰν Μαινάδων.

Paley pronounced γελῶντι προσώπῳ of 1010 to be 'probably a gloss,' suggesting γελῶν, and Wecklein also thinks it 'offenbar ein Glossem z. B. von χαροπός oder χαροπῶς.' It is an adscript beyond question, and I think very probably to φαιδρωπός. Cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 724 πολέα δ' ἔσχ' ἐν ἀγκάλαις νεοτρόφου τέκνου δίκαν φαιδρωπὸς ποτὶ χεῖρα σαίνοντα (so Auratus for σαίνων τε) γαστρὸς ἀνάγκαις. Eur. *Or.* 885 ὄμμα φαιδρωπόν. Hesych. φαιδρωπόν: χαριὲν τὸ πρόσωπον· and φαιδρός: καθαρός. γεγηθώς. φανερός. Both φαιδρός and φαιδρῷ τῷ προσώπῳ are very commonly used in the sense given by the ejected explanation.

WALTER HEADLAM.

THE MANUSCRIPTS OF PROPERTIUS.

Nimium altercando ueritas amittitur.

CARDINAL MANUSCRIPTS[1].

N. Codex *Neapolitanus*, no. 224 inter Gudianos in the ducal library at Wolfenbuettel, first collated by N. Heinsius at Naples, assigned to the 13th century by Lachmann and Hertzberg, to the 13th or 12th by Keil, to the 14th or rather the 15th by Lucian Mueller, and by Baehrens to a date not earlier than 1430. It wants the leaf which contained the verses iv xi 17—76.

A. Codex *Vossianus* Latinus no. 38 at Leyden, collated in Burmann's edition as Vossianus secundus, assigned by Baehrens to a date near 1360. It contains only the first book and the first 63 verses of the second.

F. Codex *Laurentianus* plut. 36 49 at Florence, first collated by Baehrens for his edition of 1880 and assigned by him to the beginning of the 15th century. It is complete. It contains many corrections by

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[1] Since this paper was written Mr Carl Hosius has published in the Rheinisches Museum vol. xlvi pp. 575—88 some notes of his researches among the Italian mss of Propertius. His conclusion (p. 582) is that only one deserves adding to our apparatus criticus, Neapolitanus 268, which is near akin to A and F and will make some amends for the absence of A from ii i 63 onwards. I attach value also to another, Vrbinas 641, which agrees more closely than any other ms with N and will therefore have its use at any rate in iv xi 17—76 where N is not extant. Of these two mss I shall speak further at the end of this paper: at present I will only say that they do not disturb the classification here proposed.

f, a hand a little later than the first.

D. Codex *Dauentriensis*, no. 1792 in the public library at Deventer, collated in Burmann's edition as alter codex meus, assigned by Baehrens to a date between 1410 and 1420. It wants the first elegy and the first 13 verses of the second.

V. Codex Ottoboniano-*Vaticanus* no. 1514 at Rome, first collated by Baehrens for his edition of 1880 and assigned by him to the end of the 14th century but to a date near 1450 by Messrs Stevenson fils Maurice Faucon and Pierre de Nolhac (Plessis, études critiques sur Properce p. 21). It is complete. It contains many corrections by

v, several hands of the 15th century.

THESIS.

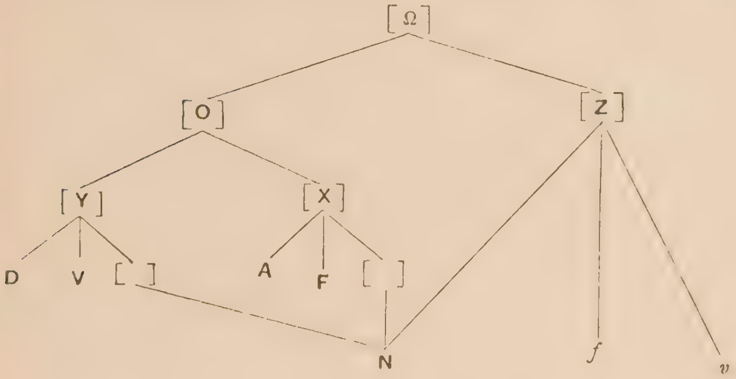
In this paper I intend to establish the following propositions.

1. NAFDVfv are authorities independent of one another and therefore are one and all to be employed in the reconstruction of the archetype.

2. The relationship of these MSS is the following.

The codices DV together form one family, and the codices AF another, both which families are wholly derived from a common parent now lost which following Baehrens I call O. N is a MS deriving its readings from three sources: partly from a MS of the same family with AF, partly from a MS of the same family with DV, and partly from a lost MS which I shall call Z, a MS entirely independent not only of those two families but of their parent O. From this codex Z are also derived many of the readings given by f and v.

These relations are expressed by the following stemma, in which lost MSS stand within brackets.



How far these conclusions agree with those of my predecessors, or differ from them, will be made plain by the following review of the dispute.

Historical survey.

In the year 1816 Karl Lachmann published at Leipzig the first scientific recension of Propertius. As for the textual criticism of his predecessors, it resembled nothing so much as the condition of mankind before the advent of Prometheus: *ἔφυρον εἰκῇ πάντα.* The younger Burmann's great edition of 1780 presents an imperfect and inaccurate collation of some five and twenty MSS good bad and indifferent: the authority for this reading or that, if reckoned at all, is ascertained by the simple process of adding up the codices which offer it: if one MS weighs heavier than its fellows, that is because it has had the luck to be collated twice over under the different names of Mentelianus and Leidensis primus and accordingly counts as two. To the conjectural emendation of the text the critics of the 17th and 18th centuries rendered immortal services; two of them at least, Heinsius and Schrader, achieved in this province far more than Lachmann: but towards the formation of a critical apparatus they did nothing but amass a chaos of material and leave it to be set in order by this young man of twenty-three.

Lachmann singled out from the crowd of witnesses the codices Groninganus and Neapolitanus and made these two the pillars of his recension: the Groninganus he reckoned first in merit, the Neapolitanus second, the other MSS he employed but sparingly or discarded altogether. He did well—I will here assume as proven what I shall prove hereafter—to select the Neapolitanus, which remains today an authority second to none: he did well also to select the Groninganus, which though now superseded contains nevertheless much truth which the Neapolitanus does not contain. He erred, though the error was of no great moment, in setting the Groninganus highest, misled by specious interpolations which he mistook for genuine: he erred more gravely and disastrously in neglecting the MS known to him as the alter codex Burmanni and to us as the Dauentriensis, whose honest and independent witness he mistook for interpolation.

Lachmann's right opinions had the strength of truth; his wrong opinions were sustained by his genius and growing authority; right and wrong together they took captive the learned world and held sway unchallenged till 1843. Keil in that year published his observationes criticae in Propertium and there corrected Lachmann's less important error by demonstrating that the Neapolitanus must be set at least on a level with the Groninganus. Hertzberg, whose elaborate edition was then in publication, still held wholly with Lachmann; but from this date onward the Neapolitanus gained more and more in honour as the Groninganus lost, and the chief critics and editors down to 1880, as Haupt Mueller and Palmer, took N for their mainstay and made but subsidiary use of the Groninganus or of any MS beside.

But 1880 like 1816 began a new era. In this year the late Emil Baehrens published a recension founded on four MSS, two of them, A and D, already known in part from Burmann's edition under the names of Vossianus secundus and alter codex meus, two now first collated, F and V. From these four alone, A and F forming one family, D and V another, Baehrens proposed to reconstitute the archetype: all other MSS, N included, were to be set aside, and their testimony, where it dissented from AFDV, was to be deemed interpolated.

The edition of Baehrens placed in our hands all the materials for restoring the text of Propertius which are yet known to exist[1]: that he himself should not employ them rightly was excusable enough, since men are apt to be overmuch enamoured of their own discoveries. His four MSS were really of high importance and superseded not only the Groninganus but all known MSS excepting N; N however they did not supersede, and Baehrens was further mistaken in ascribing to interpolators certain readings, often agreeing with N, which are offered by f and v the correctors of F and V. Somewhere, it might have been thought, in the world of scholarship there would be found the candour and the perspicacity to welcome his distinguished services, correct his demonstrable mistakes, and establish without more ado on a sure foundation the textual criticism of Propertius.

But Baehrens was envied for his talents and disliked for his vanity and arrogance; many of his contemporaries, not all of whom deserved it, he had assailed with abuse; and by his lack of due servility towards the deified heroes Lachmann and Haupt he had affronted the school of philologers now regnant in Germany. Accordingly it was not to be borne that valuable MSS unknown to Haupt or Lachmann should be discovered by Baehrens; and the task of proving that his MSS were valueless was promptly undertaken in the Rheinisches Museum of the same year 1880, vol. XXXV pp. 441—7, by Mr Friedrich Leo. Mr Leo is known from his services to Plautus and Seneca for a very competent critic; but Baehrens two years before had described him with foolish scurrility as an 'asinus sub Leonina pelle[2]'.

Mr Leo successfully demonstrated that in discarding the Neapolitanus Baehrens erred: his proofs are not invariably cogent and we shall see hereafter that they can be largely reinforced, but they sufficed. This however was not enough;

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[1] See note on p. 101.

[2] Haec prius fuere: in 1891 Mr Leo on p. 21 of his edition of the culex writes kindly and justly of Baehrens.

and having corrected the error of Baehrens Mr Leo must next proceed to put himself no less in the wrong by asserting, not proving, for that was impossible, that 'AFDV omnino nihil ualent', and returning to the rubbish-heap of old MS materials superseded by Baehrens' discoveries. Into the relationship of the MSS to one another he made no investigation, and indeed he could hardly have made any without upsetting his conclusion.

A few months later Mr Ellis published in the American Journal of Philology, vol. I pp. 389—400, a paper on 'the Neapolitanus of Propertius'. Considered as a defence of that MS the article was by no means equal to Mr Leo's in completeness method or precision; but it was quite untouched by faction or prejudice, and the author was content to vindicate N without disparaging AFDV. Like Mr Leo he held that certain of the vulgar codices were not yet superseded, and like Mr Leo he propounded no theory of the relations existing between the MSS.

In 1882 appeared the most elaborate work yet published on the subject, a dissertation de codicibus Propertianis by Mr Richard Solbisky of Weimar. Rightly ignoring all MSS but N and AFDV Mr Solbisky addressed himself to comparing the merits and defining the relations of these. He concluded that for practical purposes N and the family DV are our only authorities, both necessary but N the better of the two: the family AF may be set down as useless. The MSS are related thus: N descends from one apograph of the archetype, the family DV from another; the family AF is blent from both these apographs and contains no other element of genuine tradition but only errors and interpolations with a few happy conjectures; f and v have derived readings from a MS resembling N. The treatise is written with admirable diligence adequate learning and entire freedom from the spirit of faction: its faults spring partly from a deficiency, I will not say in critical faculty, but certainly in critical experience; partly, it seems, from the fact that though party spirit is absent preconceived opinion is not. One finds conclusions, correct in themselves, supported by proofs which prove nothing;

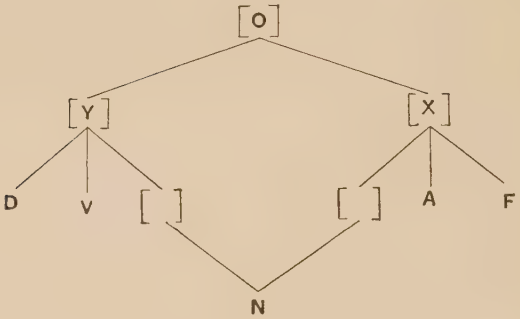
false or doubtful propositions are stated as self-evident; the codices AF are disparaged in a manner not only erroneous but arbitrary; and for his genealogy of the MSS, which I shall shew to be quite impossible, Mr Solbisky neither adduces nor pretends to adduce any evidence at all.

The études critiques sur Properce of Mr Frédéric Plessis published in 1884 contain two chapters, pp. 1—45, devoted to the MSS. The book is written with French lucidity and more than French diligence; but Mr Plessis, it must be said, is no critic. His conclusions, which since he shews no argument for them appear to be intuitive, are these: the MSS to be employed in constructing the text are NAFDV the Groninganus and Hertzberg's Hamburgensis: there are two families: the first comprises two branches of which N is the better and AF the worse: the second family consists of DV and is inferior to N but equal to AF. f and v derive from N the readings which they have in common with that MS: Mr Plessis, who as I have said is no critic, adds that the agreement of Nfv 'équivaut presque à une certitude', i.e. a reading found in N is rendered more probable if two scribes have copied it thence. The Groninganus and Hamburgensis have combined the readings of the two families already mentioned, but are nevertheless to be employed in constructing the text.

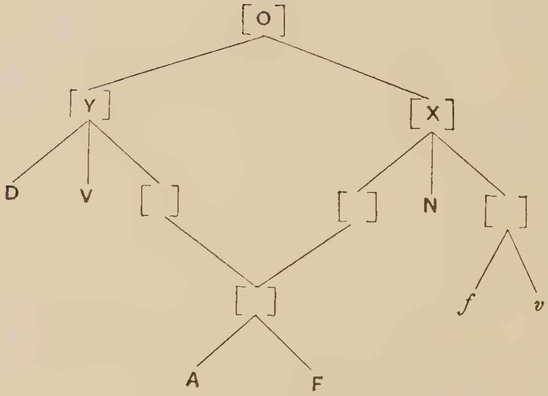
In 1887 Mr C. Weber published a disquisition de auctoritate codicum Propertianorum in which after a painstaking examination confined to the first book he came to the following conclusions: N is by far our best authority but AFDV with f and v are also of service: of the two families AF and DV the former is akin to N but the latter is nevertheless the better: f and v have derived readings from a MS resembling N but interpolated. Mr Weber's conclusions then, so far as they concern the relations of NAFDV, are virtually those of Mr Plessis.

I subjoin, for comparison with my own, the stemmata codicum which I have drawn up from the statements of the four scholars who have formulated their opinions on the relationship of the MSS.

Baehrens.



Solbisky.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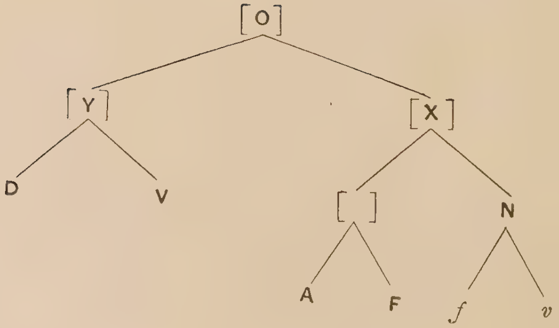
Plessis.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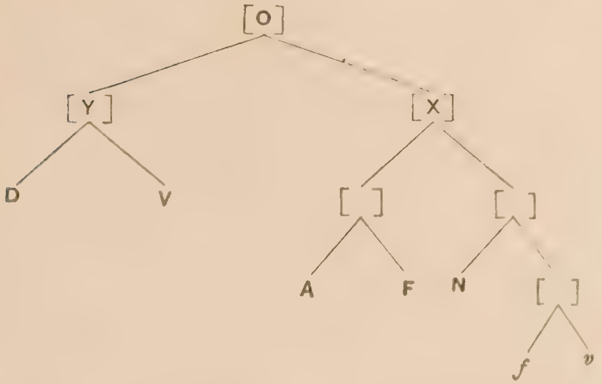

Controversy is inseparable from the discussion of our subject, and the ensuing pages will of necessity contain a certain amount of polemical matter; but my purpose is not in the main controversial. My purpose is to establish my own theory: to demolish the theories of others is only a necessary incident in the process. Therefore I shall not examine point by point the conclusions of my predecessors and controvert them severally: I shall develope my own views in what appears to be the most natural sequence, pointing out from time to time how this or that error of former critics is refuted by the evidence adduced.

The mass of facts which I am about to pass in review is much greater than would be needed merely to demonstrate the thesis which I have proposed. But side by side with the demonstration of my thesis I pursue a second aim: to amend or elucidate as far as may be those passages in our author where his MSS are not unanimous and where it becomes our business to extract from their conflicting testimony the reading of the Propertian archetype.

N AND O.

§ 1. *N better than O* [= *AFDV in agreement*].

First I set out to demonstrate the existence in N of a genuine element not derived from O the common archetype of AFDV but from a MS which I call Z, the brother of O and its coequal in authority. To demonstrate this is to vindicate against Baehrens the merit of N; and so far I am fighting side by side with Messrs Leo Ellis Solbisky Plessis and Weber. But concerning the nature and origin of the merit of N Messrs Leo and Ellis have formed, or at any rate have pronounced, no opinion, while Messrs Solbisky Plessis and Weber have pronounced an opinion opposite to mine, they affirming[1] and I denying that N derives its merit from the common archetype of AFDV.

To refute Baehrens, I say, is an aim we have in common; and wherever I borrow a weapon from my comrades in arms I shall take care to acknowledge the debt. But I will here explain why I discard as futile a great portion of the armoury employed by Messrs Solbisky and Weber. Our adversary has never denied that N has many true readings which AFDV have not: only he has asserted that those true readings are conjectural emendations. Therefore when Messrs Solbisky and Weber adduce I iii 28 sqq. where AFDV have wrongly 'obstipui uano credulus auspicio, | ne qua tibi insolitos portarent uisa timores | neue quis inuitam *cogerit* esse suam' and N has rightly *cogeret*, they beat the air. No scribe who attended to what he was writing and knew the elements of Latin grammar could fail, with *portarent* overhead, to make the correction *cogeret* if he found *cogerit* in his exemplar. Such errors as *cogerit* occur in the best MSS in the world, such corrections as *cogeret* in the very worst. The virtue for which we esteem a MS is not correctness but integrity; and for the integrity of N a reading like this says nothing. And the use of these brittle weapons will seem less than ever excusable when I point to the invincible evidence which lies ready to our hand.

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[1] Solbisky p. 194, Plessis p. 44, Weber p. 16.

The fact is, though it looks a paradox, that no true reading and no number of true readings are proof positive of a genuine element in the MS which offers them. Not even the 'te uaria laudaui saepe figura, | ut, quod non *esses, esse* putaret amor' given by N at III xxiv 6 where DV have *esset saepe* and F *essem saepe*, not even a reading so manifestly true and so hard to find by guessing as this, can beat a determined opponent from the position that all the truth which N possesses it owes to the divination of correctors. Improbable to the last degree it renders his opinion, yet not impossible. But a deadly weapon would be this: if we could find passages where O is corrupt and where N gives, not the true reading, but a corruption standing half way between the true reading and the corruption in O. Take from another author an instance of what I mean: when in Catull. 67 42 'loquentem | solam cum *ancillis* haec sua flagitia' we find the Oxoniensis giving *concillis* and the Sangermanensis *conciliis*, we say that the former is here superior in integrity to the latter; for not only is *conciliis* a worse corruption than *concillis* but it is a corruption of that corruption, and *concillis* being meaningless cannot be conjectural. It is evidence of this incontrovertible sort that I shall now employ against Baehrens: I shall adduce passages where N exhibits a corruption in its early stage and O exhibits a later stage of that same corruption. Now if I had but a single instance, that would not suffice to prove my case, for it is conceivable that a single instance might spring from a freak of chance: for example, I do not doubt that in Prop. II xxxiii 12 the true reading is Prof. Palmer's elegant emendation 'mandisti et stabulis *arbita* pasta tuis', and here while ON have *abdita* the Cuiacianus has *abbita* which is nearer the truth by one letter; but from the whole of the Cuiacianus, as we shall see hereafter, there has been adduced no other peculiar reading which has even the semblance of integrity, and *abbita* must accordingly be imputed to accident. But from N I adduce not one such instance but the following list.

First I set down the reading recognised as true by the consent of modern critics, Baehrens himself included; then the corruption found in N; then the further corruption of that corruption found in O. Wherever f or v agrees with N I note the fact, since I am concerned to prove that these as well as N preserve a genuine tradition independent of O.

I vi 3.

> cum *quo Rhipaeos* possim conscendere montes.
> *coripeos* N.
> *corripeos* O.

> N presents the regular palaeographical equivalents for *qu*, *rh* and *ae*: O inserts a second *r* to make the word more like Latin.

I xviii 16.

> lumina *deiectis* turpia sint lacrimis.
> *delectis* Nv.
> *dilectis* O.

II xxxiv 59.

> me iuuet *hesternis* positum languere corollis.
> *externis* Nf.
> *eternis* F.
> *aeternum* DV.

> O clearly had *eternis* or *aeternis*.

III v 6. Adduced by Leo.

> nec miser *aera* paro clade, Corinthe, tua.
> *aere* N.
> *ire* O.

III vii 49.

> sed Thyio thalamo aut *Oricia* terebintho.
> *orythia* N.
> *corythia* DV.
> *corinthia* F.

> O had *corythia* or *corithia*.

IV i 106. Adduced by Leo.

umbra*ue quae* magicis mortua prodit aquis.
ne quę N.
que ne O.

IV iii 55. Adduced by Leo.

Glaucidos et catulae uox est mihi grata querentis.
Graucidos N.
Grancidos O.

IV vii 61. Adduced by Leo.

qua numerosa fides *quaque aera rutunda* Cybelles.
qua quaerar ut unda Nv.
qua quaerat ut unda DV.
qua quaerat nuda F.

IV xi 97.

et bene habet: numquam mater *lugubria* sumpsi.
lubrigia Nv.
lubrica O.

Here then falls to earth the system of Baehrens; and the further evidence to be brought against him is in its controversial aspect no more than a slaying of the slain. But my purpose, as I said, is not in the main controversial; so our enquiry proceeds. We have established the existence in N of a genuine element not derived from O: we now go on to investigate its magnitude.

§ 2. *N better than O: continued.*

I begin with certain evidence which is closely akin to the above though as an offensive weapon against Baehrens it has not the same irresistible cogency: it consists of passages where the reading which I think true and shall try to prove so appears slightly corrupted in N and worse corrupted in O, but where Baehrens dissents as to the truth of the reading. The example however which I place first is really no less certain than those just enumerated.

IV viii 37. Lygdamus ad cyathos, *uterque* aestiua supellex.

uterque O, *utrique* Nfv. Baehrens proposes *craterque;* Mr Rossberg retaining *uterque* explains *ūter* as the wine-skin. Scaliger with the assent I think of all scholars but these restored '*uitrique* aestiua supellex' from copa 29 'si sapis, *aestiuo* recubans te prolue *uitro*': the copa is full of parallels to this poem and the emendation seems placed beyond dispute.

II xiii 47—50.

> cui si tam longae minuisset fata senectae
>   Gallicus Iliacis miles in aggeribus,
> non *ille* Antilochi uidisset corpus humari
>   diceret aut 'o mors, cur mihi sera uenis?'

O has *ille* which N omits. 'suspectum fraudis pronomen, cum absit ab N neque causa defectus appareat. repone illud *aut,* quod quam facile potuerit absorberi sequente *aut* nemo non uidet' Lucian Mueller. The *ille* of O then will be a metrical correction of the reading of N. That Propertius wrote *aut* is an hypothesis which explains the facts before us: that he wrote *ille* is not. But Mr Palmer at III xi 17 contends that the scribe of N ejected *ille* because he pronounced Antīlōchi; and that in IV iii 1 'haec Arethusa suo' *haec* was lost not because it stood next the margin but because the scribe pronounced Ārēthusa; and that in II xxxiv 40 'aut Capanei magno grata ruina Ioui' the scribe of O omitted *magno* because he pronounced Cāpānēi. I have the greatest difficulty in setting before my mind's eye a conception of these scribes, who first invent for themselves, with no motive and on no foundation and against the metre of the verse they are transcribing, a false scansion of a word, and then adhere with such tenacity to this causeless baseless and embarrassing fiction that instead of reforming their pronunciation as the verse suggests they deform the verse to keep their pronunciation unreformed.

II xxv 1—3.

> unica nata meo pulcherrima cura dolori,
>   excludit quoniam sors mea 'saepe *ueni*',
> ista meis fiet notissima forma libellis.

ueni O, *uenit* N. This surprising punctuation, invented by Jacob and adopted by all subsequent editors but Mr Palmer, is deservedly scouted by Madvig in his adversaria critica: 'in illa, quae fingitur, inuitandi formula peruerse abundat *saepe*, neque is dolor erat, quod non saepe uenire iuberetur, sed quod non reciperetur et quod excluderetur a puella. codex optimus (Neapolitanus) a prima manu habet *uenit*. fuerat: "*excludi* quoniam sors mea saepe uenit", hoc est, quod saepe mihi ea sors obuenit, ut excludar'. The conjecture was anticipated by Scaliger. It is open I think to the objection of Baehrens, that you would expect *mihi*: to remove this scruple I would alter with Lachmann one letter more and write

> *excludi* quoniam sors mea saepe *uehit*.

III vi 21, 22.

> ille potest nullo miseram me linquere facto?
> *aequalem nulla* dicere habere domo?

So O. Cynthia complains to the slave Lygdamus that Propertius has forsaken her for another. The pentameter is senseless; and Heinsius proposed 'aequalem *nullam* dicere habere *domi*'. *domi* may well be accepted, since 'habere domi' is a regular phrase in this connexion: Q. Cic. de pet. cons. 2 8 'quo tamen in magistratu amicam quam *domi* palam *haberet* de machinis emit', Auson. epigr. 120 1 sq. 'lambere cum uellet mediorum membra uirorum | Castor nec posset uulgus *habere domi*'. But the rest of the conjecture, to mention one objection only, is subverted by the fact that neither in III viii 21 nor anywhere else does *aequalis* mean *riualis*. Turn to N, and you find that for *aequalem nulla* it offers *et qualem nullo*, from which Mr Palmer has recovered the truth: no more brilliant and certain correction was ever made in the text of Propertius:

> ille potest nullo miseram me linquere facto
> et, qualem *nolo* dicere, habere domi?

i.e. 'puellam uilem, cuius quaestum nolo dicere, domi habere'. Mr Palmer compares Iuu. VIII 275 'aut pastor fuit aut illud quod *dicere nolo*' and Catull. 67 45 'quendam, quem *dicere nolo* nomine'. *nolo* was corrupted by the *nullo* just above, and the error *equalis* for *et qualis* recurs in the MSS of Tib. II 4 17.

III vi 41, 42.

> *quid mihi si* tanto felix concordia bello
> extiterit, per me, Lygdame, liber eris.

quid mihi si O, *quod nisi et* N. All editors accept as is necessary the *quod* of N, and the *e* which Lachmann elicits from *et* makes the meaning plainer. And since the 'bellum' in question is a quarrel between Propertius and Cynthia it does not appear why *mihi* is used where *nobis* would be better; so that *nisi* too demands attention. Mr Lucian Mueller altering very slightly the reading of N writes '*quodsin e* tanto' cet.: the unfamiliar word, used also by Valerius Flaccus V 668, was easily changed to *quod nisi*, and the scribe of O mistook *nisi* for $\overset{i}{m}si$, i.e. *mihi si*.

III viii 19, 20. Adduced by Leo.

> non est certa fides quam non *iniuria* uersat.
> hostibus eueniat lenta puella meis.

iniuria O, *iniurgia* N. The hexameter may be interpreted either with Broukhusius 'nihil potes tibi polliceri de fide puellae tuae, nisi eam uariis iniuriis lacessiueris' or with Burmann 'one cannot love one's mistress faithfully unless she outrages one's love'. Either of these very diverse sentiments may be true, but neither has any connexion with the theme of the poem. This elegy celebrates an outbreak of Cynthia's temper: it begins 'dulcis ad hesternas fuerat mihi rixa lucernas | uocis et insanae tot maledicta tuae', and then proceeds to explain: 'nimirum ueri dantur mihi signa caloris, | nam sine amore graui femina nulla dolet. | quae mulier rabida iactat conuicia lingua, | haec Veneris magnae uoluitur ante pedes': its argument is that one's mistress by such outbreaks of temper displays the truth of her affection. This consideration together with the *iniurgia* of N has conducted Mr Vahlen to the following conjecture: 'non est certa fides quam non *in iurgia uertas*', 'that love is not sure which cannot be provoked to a quarrel': the context admits no other sense than this, and the indications of N seem to leave no doubt that these were the very words which expressed it.

III xv 31—34. Adduced by Ellis.

> ac, veluti, magnos cum ponunt aequora motus,
> eurus *in aduersos* desinit ire *notos*,
> litore sic tacito, sonitus rarescit harenae,
> sic cadit inflexo lapsa puella genu.

in aduersos...notos O, *sub aduerso...notho* N. It at once appears that the former is easier explained as a correction of the latter than the latter as a corruption of the former. Lachmann therefore is followed by most editors when he writes *ubi aduerso.. noto.* The construction of the sentence seems to be this: ac, ueluti sonitus harenae, cum aequora, ubi eurus aduerso noto ire desinit, magnos motus ponunt, litore sic [= in ea rerum condicione] tacito, rarescit, sic cadit puella. But the passage is uncertain, and I will say that to my mind Lachmann's conjecture though generally accepted partakes of its uncertainty.

IV x 41, 42.

> genus hic Rheno iactabat ab ipso
> nobilis *effecti* fundere gaesa rotis.

effecti O, *erecti* Nf, whence Passeratius *e rectis* which seems clearly right: compare Verg. Aen. XII 671 '*e*que *rotis* magnam respexit ad urbem'. *rectis* = quas ipse regebat: Virdomarus is extolled for the skill with which at one and the same time he held the rein and hurled the javelin, as Hertzberg explains quoting Caes. bell. Gall. IV 33 'per omnes partes perequitant et tela coniciunt'. Baehrens' *e uectis* can pretend to no merit but the merit of disregarding N; and after all it is as near to N as to O.

II xiii 1, 2.

> non tot Achaemeniis *armantur* Etrusca sagittis,
> spicula quot nostro pectore fixit Amor.

armantur O, *armatur* N: which of these is true or nearer truth we cannot tell till we have emended the corrupt *Etrusca*;

but Hertzberg justly observes that a scribe was likelier to write plural for singular, taking 'Etrusca spicula' for the nominative, than singular for plural. The best conjecture yet proposed, Volscus' *Susa* (see Lucan II 49 'Achaemeniis...Susis'), demands *armantur:* many read *Itura*, which they mean for *Ituraea;* but since they do not know whether this figment of theirs is fem. sing. or neut. plur. they cannot tell which form of the verb to choose: Ellis would write *armatur Atusa*, which is nearer to the MSS but yet not very near. I offer this:

> non tot Achaemeniis *armatus Eruthra* sagittis.

Eruthra or *Erythra* is 'Ερύθρας, that fabulous king of the east who left his name to the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. For the Latinised inflexion compare a verse the counterpart of this, II xiv 1 'non ita Dardanio gauisus *Atrida* triumpho'; also *Marsyă* Hor. serm. I 6 120, Ovid met. VI 400, Sil. VIII 505, *Peliă* Sen. Med. 201 and 276, *Tiresiă* Oed. 289. Velius Longus 2215 tells us that Verrius Flaccus regarded Greek *υ* and Latin *u* as equivalent, and this transliteration seems from the best MSS, Virgil's especially, to have been common enough in Augustan writers: in late MSS like Propertius' the scribes have substituted *y* wherever they recognised what was meant, but traces of *u* survive in such corruptions as I xx 4 *minius* for *Minuis* or III ix 14 *nuros* for *Muos*, or this which I have just emended. The confusion of *-atus* and *-atur* is perpetual.

II xxvii 1—10.

at uos incertam, mortales, funeris horam
  quaeritis, et qua sit mors aditura uia;
quaeritis et caelo, Phoenicum inuenta, sereno
  quae sit stella homini commoda quaeque mala.
seu pedibus Parthos sequimur seu classe Britannos,
  et maris et terrae caeca perinde uia est.
rursus et obiectum *flemus* caput esse tumultu,
  cum Mauors dubias miscet utrimque manus.
praeterea domibus flammam domibusque ruinas
  neu subeant labris pocula nigra tuis.

flemus O, *fletus* N. No person is mentioned to whom the 'tuis' of v. 10 can refer. They say that Propertius here diverts his address from mankind in general to an imaginary individual; and so he doubtless does. But this transition can only be effected by means of a vocative or of a personal pronoun: a possessive pronoun cannot serve for the purpose. That is to say, it does not so serve in the writings of authors whose MSS are good and ancient: the late and corrupt MSS of Propertius supply two parallels, one in III iv 4 which I shall shortly have occasion to discuss, the other in II xxv 47 where after '*uidistis* Arginas', '*uidistis* nostras', we come to 'haec atque illa mali uulneris una uia est, | cum satis una *tuis* insomnia portet ocellis | una sit et cuiuis femina multa mala'. But here the sense is no better than the diction: either woman works hurt, *because* one woman works hurt enough to you or to anyone! Coherency of thought and expression may be restored by inserting before 'cum satis' cet. some such couplet as this: 'quin *tu* uulgares, *demens*, compescis amores | in poenamque uagus desinis esse tuam'. To return then to II xxvii: 'tuis' has no meaning; nor is it rendered any the more tolerable by Mr Lucian Mueller's emendation of v. 9 'praeterea domibus flammam *metuis*que ruinas'. The emendation in itself I think right and necessary: it delivers us from the absurd 'fleo flammam domibus', and I would support it with M. Sen. contr. II 9 12 'ut anxii interdiu et nocte *ruinam ignemque metuant*': the scribe's eye glancing from *etui* to *erui* he wrote *flammameruinas* which was afterwards expanded to the length required by the metre. But still neither 'tuis' nor 'metuis' has any person to whom it can be referred. Therefore from the *fletus* of N we are to elicit, not the vulgate *fletis* which is no more help than *flemus*, but *fles tu*, transposing one letter. O has further corrupted *fletus* to *flemus*, seduced by the *sequimur* which stands above.

II xxxii 3—6 (Solbisky pp. 163 sq.).

nam quid Praenesti dubias, o Cynthia, sortes,
  quid petis Aeaei moenia Telegoni?
cur uatem Herculeum deportant esseda Tibur?
  Appia cur totiens te uia ducit anum?

cur uatem O, *curua te* N. The second distich is evidently corrupt, and in going about to amend it the *cur uatem* of O is altered by all editors but one. Mr Palmer however, unluckily remembering II iv 15 sq. 'nam cui non ego sum fallaci praemia *uati?* | quae mea non deciens somnia uersat *anus?*', retains this reading, changes *te uia* in the next verse with one interpolated MS into *deuia,* which singularly inappropriate epithet he bestows on the Appian highway, and explains the passage thus: 'Cynthia ad suam domum Tiburtinam uatem praesagum, anum fatidicam deportari essedis iubet ut futura exponant'. The Via Appia does not lead to Tibur; but that is a trifle: if the couplet means what Mr Palmer says it means, then it is a fragment of some other poem and has no business in this context, where Propertius complains to Cynthia that *she* is always quitting Rome for Praeneste, for Tusculum, for Aricia, and concludes that '*ista* tui furtum *uia* monstrat amoris: | non urbem, demens, lumina nostra *fugis*': all which has nothing to do with soothsayers and old women who are summoned to Tibur and expect to get there by the Appian way. The two verses therefore, if they belong to this elegy, enquire why Cynthia so often visits Tibur and some other place in the neighbourhood of Rome; and I will give them at once in what I believe to be their genuine form:

> *curnam te* Herculeum deportant esseda Tibur?
> Appia cur totiens te uia *Lanuuium?*

The brilliant emendation of the pentameter seems to be Jortin's: *la* was lost in *ia, uianuuium* suggested *uia anum,* and *ducit* was thrown in for the metre: in IV viii we find Cynthia driving along the Appian way to Lanuuium in the company of a rival lover. The *curnam te* which I have written in the hexameter is based on the *curua te* of N and seems to me the simplest correction: Baehrens' *cur tua te,* likewise based on N, that N to which he denies all authority, is no less easy palaeographically, but the juxtaposition of the pronouns lays a stress on 'tua' for which no reason is apparent. If Mr Lucian Mueller's *cur aut te* be accepted, that again is nearer to N than O. The old vulgate *curue te in* is unmetrical.

III iv 1—6.

arma deus Caesar dites meditatur ad Indos
  et freta gemmiferi findere classe maris.
magna, uiri, merces: parat ultima terra triumphos;
  Tigris et Euphrates sub tua iura fluent,
Seres et Ausoniis uenient prouincia uirgis;
  adcrescent Latio Partha tropaea Ioui.
ite agite cet.

Tigris O, *Tygris* N. This is the passage to which I alluded under II xxvii 1—10. 'tua iura' in v. 4 is said to mean 'thy rule, O Caesar', though one line above you have the vocative 'uiri' and three lines below the plural imperatives 'ite agite': another of those 'Propertian' peculiarities which are peculiar not to Propertius but to those authors whose MSS are late and bad. 'istud *tua*' says Broukhusius most truly 'non habet quo referatur', and he conjectures *sua*, i.e. 'eiectis regibus erunt sui iuris et liberi'; but this accords ill with the context, which prophesies the subjugation of the East to Rome. The antitheses of the next distich point to the sense required, and Heinsius' *noua* is better; but the following seems to have much more point:

parat ultima terra triumphos,
Thybris, et Euphrates sub tua iura *fluet*.

How easily Euphrates would transform *Thybris* to *Tigris* is evident; and the *Tygris* of N may be a vestige of the change: how easily *fluet* would then become *fluent* is evident again. For *Thybris* instead of *Thybri* compare III vii 68 'et tu, materno tacta dolore *Thetis*'; and indeed nominative for vocative in the poets is not uncommon. For the ascription of 'iura' to the Tiber I would adduce Verg. Aen. VIII 77 'corniger Hesperidum fluuius regnator aquarum', Ovid met. II 259 'cuique fuit rerum promissa potentia, Thybrim', fast. V 641 'quem nunc gentes Tiberim noruntque timentque', Stat. silu. III 5 111 'ductor aquarum | Thybris'; for the antagonism imputed to the rivers of different lands Prop. II xxxiii 20 'cum Tiberi Nilo gratia nulla fuit,' III xi 42 'Tiberim Nili cogere ferre minas', Val. Fl. I 517 sq. 'quid barbarus amnibus ullis | Phasis...obstat?'

III xxii 1—4.

> frigida tam multos placuit tibi Cyzicus annos,
> Tulle, Propontiaca qua fluit Isthmos aqua,
> Dindymus et sacra fabricata *iuuenta* Cybelle
> raptorisque tulit quae uia Ditis equos.

iuuenta O, *inuenta* N. The conjecture of Isaac Voss *sacrae fabricata iuuenca Cybebae,* once much admired, is now consigned to the neglect it merits: the only author who vouches for the existence of a ‘fabricata iuuenca’ at Cyzicus is Voss himself, and the sacrifices of heifers which did take place there were made not to Cybebe but to Proserpina. Haupt (index lectionum Berlin 1854–5, pp. 12 sq.) draws attention to ancient authorities who tell us of one thing at any rate at Cyzicus which was ‘fabricata’: Strab. XII p. 575 *Δίνδυμον...ἱερὸν ἔχον τῆς Δινδυμήνης μητρὸς θεῶν, ἵδρυμα τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν,* Apoll. Rhod. I 1117 sqq. *ἔσκε δέ τι στιβαρὸν στύπος ἀμπέλου ἔντροφον ὕλῃ, | πρόχνυ γεράνδρυον· τὸ μὲν ἔκταμον, ὄφρα πέλοιτο | δαίμονος οὐρείης ἱερὸν βρέτας· ἔξεσε δ’ Ἄργος | εὐκόσμως. καὶ δή μιν ἐπ’ ὀκριόεντι κολωνῷ | ἵδρυσαν*: hence he proposes *sacra fabricata e uite,* adding ‘quod siquis audaciam nostram reprehendet, gaudebimus si protulerit quod et propius absit a codicum litteris et rei aeque conueniat’. Comparing the letters of the MSS with the *ἐπ’ ὀκριόεντι κολωνῷ* of Apollonius I conjecture ‘sacra fabricata *in caute* Cybelle’. The letters of *caute* are those of *uecta,* and *-uecta* is commonly confused with *-uenta:* this gives us the reading of N, and O corrupts one letter more. The ill attested form *Dindymus* with the asyndeton it involves should be removed by substituting with Mr Palmer the adjective *Dindymis.*

IV i 31, 32.

> hinc Titiens Ramnesque uiri Luceresque *coloni,*
> quattuor hinc albos Romulus egit equos.

coloni O, *soloni* N. The Luceres were no more devoted to agriculture than were the other tribes; so Hertzberg explains *coloni* as a reference to the tradition that they were brought to Rome from Etruria by Lucumo. Thus interpreted the word is defensible in itself but indefensible in its place; for the juxtaposition 'Ramnesque uiri Luceresque coloni', just as it signifies that the Luceres were and the Ramnes were not *coloni*, will signify also that the Ramnes were and the Luceres were not *uiri*. This objection can only be removed by replacing *coloni* with some laudatory title for the Luceres which shall be virtually synonymous with that bestowed on the Ramnes; and the ridiculous *soloni* of N points to just such a word: *seueri*[1]. At II iii 7 our MSS vary between *seueris* and *serenis*; at Lucr. V 1190 'noctis signa *serena*' is restored by Candidus instead of *seuera* which however pretty to a modern taste could have no meaning for a Roman; at IV 460 of the same poet I would similarly alter '*seuera* silentia noctis' to *serena*: now then *sereni* is palaeographically almost identical with *soloni*, and would also be no less easily confused with *coloni* than *serenda* with *colenda* in the MSS of Tib. II 3 8. The epithet is often applied to the early Romans, as in Verg. Aen. VIII 638 'Curibus seueris', and it tallies very well with *uiri*, which has the same force as *mares* in Hor. epist. I i 64 'maribus Curiis'.

IV ii 1, 2.

> qui mirare meas tot in uno corpore formas,
> accipe Vertumni signa *petenda* dei.

petenda O, *paterna* Nfv. 'signa petenda' are words which no one I think has ever attempted to explain. It is curious to note that they recur in Ovid ars I 114 'rex populo praedae *signa petenda* dedit' (the signal for the rape of the Sabine women) where it seems necessary to write *petita* with Bentley and Madvig. In our passage the *paterna* of Nfv is adopted by all editors but Baehrens, and they explain with Passeratius thus: 'notas, quibus possis eum agnoscere, audi et intellege. alludit enim ad γνωρίσματα comicorum. et *paterna* pro *patriis* uidetur dixisse, sequitur enim *Tuscus ego*'. Yes, but no 'signa paterna' or 'patria', no marks of the origin of Vertumnus, follow: what follows is first of all the plain assertion 'I am a Tuscan', and then the god's autobiography and a list of his varied accomplishments; but about marks of his origin never a word. Nor in Baehrens' *signa petita* can I interpret either the substantive or the participle. In brief, only one sense will the context suffer; 'Tuscus ego et Tuscis orior' answers the question 'what is Vertumnus' origin', not 'what are the marks of his origin' nor anything else: write 'accipe Vertumni *regna paterna* dei', 'learn the native land of Vertumnus'. At [Sen.] Herc. Oet. 1160 the MSS vary between *regna* and *signa*; in Prop. IV vi 78 V gives *signa* for *regna*, though that may be a mere conjecture and not an honest mistake.

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[1] It is some confirmation of this conjecture that Vrbinas 641 (see note on p. 101) has *seloni*.

IV v 21—24.

si te Eoa *derorantum* iuuat aurea ripa
et quae sub Tyria concha superbit aqua,
Eurypylisque placet Coae textura Mineruae
sectaque ab Attalicis putria signa toris.

derorantum O, *dorozantum* N. In place of these meaningless rows of letters they have conjectured the names of many eastern nations, *Doanarum*, *Areizantum*, *Domazanum* and I know not what besides. The parallels of Tib. II 4 27—30 'o pereat quicumque legit uiridesque *smaragdos* | et niueam *Tyrio murice* tingit ouem. | hic dat auaritiae causas et *Coa* puellis | *uestis* et e rubro lucida concha mari' and [Sen.] Herc. Oet. 661 sqq. 'nec gemmiferas detrahit aures | *lapis Eoa* lectus in *unda*, | nec *Sidonio* mollis *aeno* | repetita bibit lana rubores' point in quite another direction, and *zmaragdorum* suggests itself; but Propertius himself brings more light: take II xvi 17 sq. 'semper in Oceanum mittit me quaerere *gemmas* | et iubet ex ipsa tollere dona *Tyro*' with 43 sq. 'quascumque tibi *uestes*, quoscumque smaragdos | quosue dedit *flauo lumine chrysolithos*' and set these verses beside our passage and its '*aurea* ripa': then say if *topazorum*, topazes or chrysoliths, is not the word to restore. Its letters I should guess were wrongly ordered *porozatum*, and thence corrupted by the confusion of P with D to *dorozātum*. The form *topazontum* seems less likely and is really further from the MSS.

I conclude this list with an example which is a very effective argumentum ad hominem against Baehrens.

II xxii 29—34.

quid? cum e complexu Briseidos iret Achilles
  num fugere minus Thessala tela Phryges?
quid? ferus Andromachae lecto cum surgeret Hector
  bella Mycenaeae non timuere rates?
ille uel hic classes *poterat* uel perdere muros:
  hic ego Pelides, hic ferus Hector ego.

poterat O, *poterant* N. Although Baehrens is mistaken in saying that 'ille' in the above text must refer to Achilles and 'hic' to Hector (see for instance II i 38), it is nevertheless true that the verse appears to contemplate either hero performing either feat, and that this is absurd. Baehrens therefore seems to be right in proposing '*illi uel* classes *poterant* uel perdere muros'; but then his theory of the MSS receives a shock from his own hand. After 'ille uel hic' a scribe was not very likely to change singular to plural, but rather the reverse.

§ 3. *N better than O: continued.*

I now come to treat of passages where N is right or virtually right and O is wrong. These, as I said above, are not, like the examples I set in the forefront, invincible evidence for the genuineness of N, since it might be maintained without impudence though not without perversity that N here owes its superiority to conjectural emendation. I shall begin however with several instances of a peculiar sort, whose persuasiveness attains almost to cogency.

II xxxiii 37. Adduced by Leo.

cum tua praependent *demissa* in pocula *serta*.

demissa...serta O, *demissae...sertae* N. Which is right we learn from Charisius p. 107 25 Keil 'serta neutro genere dicuntur...sed Propertius feminine extulit sic: tua praependent *demissae* in pocula *sertae*'. This accordingly has always been reckoned one of N's chief titles to esteem, and Baehrens is generally and deservedly ridiculed for his note '*demissae... sertae* Charisius et (ex hoc interpolatus) N'. *θεοῦ θέλοντος*, remarks Mr Leo, *κἂν ἐπὶ ῥιπὸς πλέοις*.

II xxiii 21, 22. Adduced by Leo.

et quas Euphrates et quas mihi misit Orontes
me *capiant*.

capiant O, *iuuerint* N, 'interpolate' says Baehrens. This 'interpolate' is a mere formula to which the writer himself can have attached no definite meaning: why any scribe should find *capiant* difficult, why if he found *capiant* difficult he should find *iuuerint* easier, why he should replace a verb in one tense which will scan by a verb in another tense which will not, are questions to which no answer is even imaginable. And it is especially indiscreet of Baehrens to talk of interpolation here, because if ever a word had all the outward air of an interpolation it is *capiant*. It almost proclaims itself to be what every other critic thinks it, an obvious conjecture to amend the unmetrical *iuuerint, iuuerint* being in truth a corruption of the rare form *iŭerint* employed by Catullus at 68 18 and similarly corrupted there.

III i 24—28.

maius ab exequiis nomen in ora uenit.
nam quis equo pulsas abiegno nosceret arces
fluminaque Haemonio comminus isse uiro
Idaeum Simoenta Iouis *cunabula parui*,
Hectora per campos ter maculasse rotas.

Thus does O present v. 27; and Lachmann and Haupt (index lectionum Berlin 1854—5) have shewn long ago that its reading is impossible. Propertius might adopt if he chose the less common fable which made Jove to have been nursed on the Trojan and not the Cretan Ida; but even if Trojan Ida was Jove's cradle, Idaean Simois was not, and a much graver difficulty arises from the context. Propertius here prophesies that his reputation will redouble after his death, and confirms this forecast by the reminder that Troy owes its fame to its fall: had it not perished there would have been no Iliad, and we should never have heard of the things which that poem relates. But from *μῆνιν ἄειδε* to *Ἕκτορος ἱπποδάμοιο* not one word has the Iliad to say about Jove's cradle on Ida; and our information or misinformation concerning that matter cannot in any conceivable way depend on the fall of Troy. When therefore Mr Palmer writes 'Idaeos montes Iouis incunabula parui' he provides the infant deity with a drier cradle, but he does nothing to cure the verse of its entire inconsequence. Now N omits the words *cunabula parui*, and it is too much to suppose that it does so because its scribe apprehended the absurdity to which modern scholars with Lachmann and Haupt to teach them still shut their eyes. If one compares Homer's *Ξάνθου δινήεντος ὃν ἀθάνατος τέκετο Ζεύς* it will seem that Gustav Wolff has restored the very words of Propertius by writing 'Idaeum Simoenta Iouis *cum prole Scamandro*'. It appears that in the archetype the end of the verse was torn away to the letters *cu* which in N are omitted as unintelligible but in O are conjecturally expanded to *cunabula parui*.

IV vii 7, 8. Adduced by Ellis.

> *hosdem* habuit secum, quibus est elata, capillos,
> *hosdem* oculos.

So O: the true reading in both verses is of course *eosdem*. Now N gives *hosdem* in v. 7 and *eosdem* in v. 8, a singular trait of genuineness, for an interpolator who emended one would have emended both.

II vii 1—3.

> gauisa es certe sublatam, Cynthia, legem,
> qua quondam edicta flemus uterque diu,
> *ni* nos diuideret.

ni N, *quis* O, from which Baehrens prefers to elicit *quod*, never asking himself whether it is the wont of interpolators to adorn a poet's pages with such things as this rare yet correct use of *ni* = *ne*, nor caring to notice how easily *ni* would be absorbed in the following *n* and leave a gap for some thoughtless emendator to fill with *quis*.

II ix 19—22. Adduced by Ellis.

> at tu non una potuisti nocte uacare,
> impia, non unum sola manere diem.

quin etiam multo *duxisti* pocula risu,
forsitan et de me uerba fuere mala.

duxisti O, but N *duxistis*, i.e. you and your paramour drank: of two readings equally correct, science bids us take the less obvious and more exquisite.

II xxxiv 43.

incipe iam angusto uersus *componere* torno.

componere O, *includere* Nv. That *componere* is wrong there is no doubt, and no doubt whence it comes, for v. 41 runs 'desine et Aeschyleo *componere* uerba co*turno*, and O has *turno* for *torno* in our verse. There is no question, I say, that *componere* is wrong: the question is whether *includere* be right. It may be thought that Baehrens' *compescere* is more plausible; but in places where a scribe has repeated a word from overhead the ductus litterarum are a foundation on which nothing can be built. For '*angusto* uersus *includere torno*' I adduce what seems to me a striking and decisive piece of external evidence: Gell. noct. Att. IX 8 'hanc sententiam memini a Fauorino inter ingentes omnium clamores *detornatam inclusamque uerbis his paucissimis*'.

III xxiv 5, 6.

mixtam te uaria laudaui saepe figura,
ut, quod non *esses, esse* putaret amor.

esses esse N, *essem saepe* F, *esset saepe* DV. That N is right is undisputed and indisputable; and as Ellis observes (p. 399) 'to ascribe to a copyist of the early XVth century a felicity of correction worthy of a Bentley or a Lachmann is a somewhat dangerous experiment'.

IV iii 51, 52. Adduced by Leo.

nam mihi quo? Poenis *tibi* purpura fulgeat ostris
crystallusque *tuas* ornet aquosa manus.

tibi...*tuas* O, *te*...*meas* N. Arethusa writes to her absent husband that she cares not for gaiety or finery while he is away; and from these verses, after they have been subjected to the above punctuation, it is desired to extract the following sense:

'what profit is it to me? for you let the purple of [my] Tyrian raiment shine and the watery crystal deck [my] hands which are yours'. The feasibility of this astounding interpretation, to borrow a phrase of Lachmann's, 'exemplis docendum erat, non optandum et fingendum'. The words really mean 'let your raiment shine and the crystal deck your hands', and are very absurdly addressed to a soldier at the wars. The *meas* of N is now accepted by most editors, and its obvious corruption *te* appears to be the origin of the *tibi* in O: the passage should seemingly be written thus:

> nam mihi quo Poenis *nunc* purpura fulgeat ostris
> crystallusque *meas* ornet aquosa manus?

'why should I bedeck myself while you are away?' *nunc* is not seldom confused with *tunc*, and *tunc* is abbreviated *tc̄*. Compare Ovid her. XIII 37 sq. 'scilicet ipsa geram saturatas murice lanas, | bella sub Iliacis moenibus ille gerat?'

I xiii 11.

> haec tibi uulgares istos *compescet* amores.

compescet Nfv, *componet* O. *compescet* is accepted by Baehrens as by all other editors; he however must regard it as a conjecture. Yet *componet* was quite simple and in no way invited correction; nor was *compescet* at all an obvious word for the corrector to hit on.

II viii 15.

> *ecquandone* tibi liber sum uisus?

ec quando ne N, *et quando ne* DV, *et quando ue* F. Observe that N, which gives the letters correctly, shews by its division of them that the scribe did not understand what he wrote. Baehrens apprehends that his theory is thus jeopardised, and accordingly says 'grauius haec corrupta', but shews no argument.

II viii 37, 38.

> at, postquam *sera* captiua est reddita poena,
> fortem illum Haemoniis Hectora traxit equis.

sera Nfv, *sacra* DV, om. F. Nothing is easier than the exchange of these two words with *saera* for the mediating form: thus Horace's MSS at serm. I 10 21 give *seri saeri* and *sacri.* All we have to consider then is which of the two suits better the restoration of Briseis to Achilles; and the answer of course is *sera.* Baehrens is able to prefer *sacra* here because it is not nonsense; but presently he comes to II xxxiv 25:

> Lynceus ipse meus *seros* insanit amores.

seros Nfv, *sacros* O. Here even he is forced to desert O for N; a lesson which should not be neglected at II viii 37.

II xix 19, 20.

> incipiam captare feras et reddere pinu
> cornua et audaces ipse *monere* canes.

monere N, *mouere* O and Baehrens. But no: mouet uenator feras; canes monet.

II xxv 41, 42.

> uidistis pleno teneram candore puellam,
> uidistis fusco: *ducit* uterque color.

ducit N, *dulcis* O. The former, as Mr Leo points out p. 446, is confirmed by the 'utraque forma *rapit*' of v. 44, and the latter is somewhat discountenanced by the 'quantum sic cruciat lumina uestra dolor' of v. 40.

II xxvi 15.

> et tibi *ob inuidiam* Nereides increpitarent.

ob inuidiam Nv, *prae inuidia* O, which solecism Baehrens introduces into the text of Propertius. It is pretty generally known that in Augustan Latin *prae*, when it signifies cause, signifies only a hindering cause, and that 'prae inuidia increpito' though good for Plautus or Liuius Andronicus is not good for Propertius or his contemporaries. N's reading accounts for O's: in *tibiobinuidiā* the syllable *bi* comes twice over, whence the error *tibinuidia*, of which O gives the unhappy correction (Palmer Hermathena IV p. 53). Mr Solbisky however is much mistaken in saying (p. 170) that the elision of *prae* is inadmissible: he refers to Lucian Mueller de re metr. p. 283 but does not appear to have read that page, which deals with the elision of *prae* and other monosyllables before a short syllable.

II xxviii 9, 10. (Solbisky pp. 154 sq.)

num sibi collatam doluit Venus *ipsa paremque?*
prae se formosis inuidiosa dea est.

This has been the vulgate since Lachmann who found v. 9 thus in the Groninganus. Lachmann himself perceived that the acceptance of that reading involved the alteration of *prae se* in the next line, 'quomodo enim nunc formosa prae Venere quae antea *par* ei dicebatur?' but his followers are less sensitive and retain the contradiction. Now for *ipsa* both O and N have *illa*; *paremque* is in F, D has *pareque* and so apparently had V which has now suffered erasure: N on the other hand gives *per aequae*, that is *peraeque* which is offered by v. Take this and there is no need to alter *illa*:

num sibi collatam doluit Venus? *illa peraeque*
prae se formosis inuidiosa dea est.

This, the old vulgate, correctly explained by Passeratius 'aequaliter et pariter in omnes inuidiosa', seems now on the way to restoration, and is defended by Messrs Vahlen Palmer and Solbisky. *peraeque* has the excellent authority of Catullus and Cicero yet is too rare to be a likely interpolation.

II xxxiv 3, 4.

expertus dico: nemo est in amore fidelis:
formosam raro non sibi quisque petit.

formosam Nv, *et formam* O. Baehrens points out with truth that Propertius sometimes uses 'forma' = 'femina formosa'; but the ambiguity of 'formam sibi petit', which naturally means 'seeks personal beauty for himself', is here intolerable.

II xxxiv 9, 10.

Lynceu, tune meam potuisti *tangere* curam?
perfide, nonne tuae tum cecidere manus?

So O, but Nv make *tangere* and *perfide* change places. I do not pretend that this is any improvement, but I say that the very aimlessness of such an alteration proves that the reading of Nv is not introduced by conjecture: what corrector takes the trouble to make such resultless transpositions? If it is an error it is an accident; but it seems to be true because less simple than the other order.

III iv 19.

ipsa tuam *serua prolem,* Venus.

serua prolem Nv, *prolem serua* O. The separation of adjective and substantive is less obvious and more workmanlike.

III xi 13, 14.

ausa ferox ab equo quondam obpugnare sagittis
  iniectis Danaum Penthesilea rates.

iniectis O, which is well enough; but N has *Meotis,* i.e. *Maeotis:* the geographical epithet is clearly to be preferred in an Augustan poet.

IV i 27, 28.

nec rudis infestis miles radiabat in armis:
  miscebant usta proelia *nuda* sude.

nuda Nv, *facta* O without meaning, whence Baehrens *ficta* which has no relevance to the context. In favour of *nuda* Passeratius quotes Stat. Theb. I 413 'exsertare umeros *nudam*que lacessere *pugnam*': add Sil. VI 46 'abstulerat fors arma; tamen *certamine nudo* | inuenit Marti telum dolor' and Sen. Phaedr. 545 sqq. 'tum primum *manu* | *bellare nuda,* saxaque et ramos rudes | uertere in arma'. It seems that *nuda* was lost in *sude* and the scribe filled up the gap with the first word that occurred to him.

IV i 141, 142.

et, bene cum fixum *mento* decusseris uncum,
  nil *erit* hoc: rostro te premet ansa tuo.

mento Nfv, *merito* O. *erit* Nv, *premit* O which is obviously an anticipation of the following *premet.* But rather than accept the reading of N Baehrens writes *iuuet,* and for the sake of his theory imputes to the dead and defenceless Propertius this sentence: 'cum decuss*eris*, nil iuu*et*: prem*et* ansa'.

IV ii 43, 44.

> caeruleus cucumis tumidoque cucurbita uentre
> me *notat* et iunco brassica uincta leui.

notat Nfv, *necat* O. The peculiar aptness of *notat* will be shewn by comparing III xi 48 'Tarquinii...nomine quem simili uita superba *notat*' i.e. stamps with the name Superbus: so here do these fruits of the seasons stamp the god who receives them with the name Vertumnus, deus *uertentis anni* (v. 41). If then the scribe of N was an emendator he knew his craft better than Baehrens who writes *grauat*.

IV iv 29, 30.

> et sua Tarpeia residens ita fleuit ab arce
> uulnera, uicino *non patienda* Ioui.

non patienda Nv, *compatienda* O: *comperienda* Baehrens, which is both less forcible and further from O.

IV v 37, 38.

> supplex ille sedet: posita tu scribe cathedra
> *quidlibet*. has artes si pauet ille, tenes.

quidlibet Nf, *quilibet* O: *quoilibet* Baehrens, which comes no nearer to O and is furthermore absurd. The old woman is instructing the young one how to manage her lover: to excite his jealousy she is to sit down and write—not *to anyone*, which would be superfluous and aimless, but merely to scribble *anything*; and he will fancy it is a love letter.

IV vii 15, 16.

> iamne tibi exciderunt uigilacis *furta* Suburae
> et mea nocturnis trita fenestra dolis?

furta N, *tecta* O: it is a singular testimony to the superiority of *furta* that Baehrens who rejects it here should five lines lower down introduce the word by such an alteration as *furtaque* for *pectora*. The corruption *tecta*, if we care to trace it, passed through these stages: *furta* is perpetually altered to *facta*; *f* is absorbed by a preceding *s*, and this will leave *acta*; *a* is much confused with *ce* or *te*, and there is *tecta*.

IV vii 40—42.

haec nunc aurata cyclade signat humum,
et grauiora *fundit* iniquis pensa quasillis,
garrula de facie si qua locuta mea est.

fundit O, *rependit* Nfv, *iniungit* Baehrens. Palaeographically there is little to choose between these two last, and the sense of either is equally good and practically the same: the nominative to *rependit* will be the antecedent of 'si qua' (serua), to *iniungit* the nominative will be 'haec' (domina). What turns the scale for *rependit* is Ovid her. IX 78 'formosae *pensa rependis* erae'. Mr Postgate suggests that *fundit* may come from *refundit*, in its late Latin sense, written over *rependit* as an explanation.

IV x 45, 46.

causa Feretri,
omine quod certo dux ferit ense ducem.

omine Nv, *crimine* O, i.e. $\overset{i}{c}$*mine*, the simplest of errors, on which Baehrens builds the conjecture *numine*. The letters are further from O than *omine* is, and the sense is no better.

In the passages which follow the correctness of N is universally recognised and no argumentation is needed.

I iii 33: *compositos* leuibus radiis patefecit *ocellos*: *compositos...ocellos* Nfv, *compositis...ocellos* DV, *compositis...ocellis* AF. I vii 20: nec tibi subiciet carmina *serus* amor; *serus* NfV corr., *uerus* O. I ix 31: illis et *silices* et possunt cedere quercus: *silices* Nv, *salices* O. I xviii 19: uos eritis testes, si quos habet *arbor* amores: *arbor* Nv, *ardor* O. II xxvi 44: me licet unda ferat, te *modo* terra tegat: *modo* Nv, *quoque* O. II xxx 18: turpia cum faceret *Palladis* ora *tumor*: *Palladis* N, *pallidus* O; *tumor* Nv, *timor* O. III i 5: dicite, quo pariter carmen *tenuastis* in antro: *tenuastis* N, *tenuistis* O. III v 34: solis et *atratis* luxerit orbis equis: *atratis* N, *attractis* O. III xiii 23, 24: hoc genus infidum nuptarum; *hic nulla* puella nec fida Euadne nec pia Penelope: *hic nulla* Nv, *nupta* F, *innupta* D: V has suffered erasure. III xiii 43: et leporem, quicumque uenis, *uenaberis*, hospes: *uenaberis* Nv, *ueneraberis* O.

III xiii 58: delapsis *nusquam* est Amphiaraus equis: *nusquam* Nfv, *nūquam* F, *nunquam* D, *nunc* V. III xvi 30: *non* iuuat in media nomen habere uia: *non* Nfv, *me* O. III xxii 27: at non squamoso *labuntur* uentre cerastae: *labuntur* N, *lambuntur* O. IV i 144: gutta *quoque* ex oculis non nisi iussa cadet: *quoque* Nv, *quidem* O. IV ii 26: iurabis nostra gramina *secta* manu: *secta* N, *facta* O. IV ii 64: unum *opus* est, operi non datur unus honos: *opus* Nfv, *usus* O. IV iii 59: siue in *finitimo* gemuit stans noctua tigno: *finitimo* Nfv, *furtiuo* O. IV v 5: *docta* uel Hippolytum Veneri mollire negantem: *docta* Nfv, *nocto* F, *nocte* DV. IV v 25: *seu quae* palmiferae mittunt uenalia Thebae: *seuq;* (=*seuque*) N, *seu quam* O. IV vi 79: hic referat *sero* confessum foedere Parthum: *sero* Nfv, *ferro* O. IV vii 84: quod currens *uector* ab urbe legat: *uector* Nf 'V corr.' (? = v), *uictor* O. IV viii 11: ille sibi admotas a uirgine *corripit* escas: *corripit* Nv, *colligit* O. IV viii 34: et Venere ignota furta *nouare* mea: *nouare* Nfv, *notare* O.

§ 4. *Origin of N's superiority.*

As I said at the beginning of the last section, most of the true readings there quoted from N might be explained as conjectures if there were any reason to doubt the integrity of their origin; but there is none: quite otherwise. We began by proving the existence in N of a genuine element which it does not share with AFDV; and now that we come to consider the lections just enumerated nothing debars us from the conclusion which their number and excellence naturally suggest, that they too are part of this genuine element.

But I have undertaken not only to prove against Baehrens that N has genuine readings of its own but also to prove against Messrs Solbisky Plessis and Weber that it does not derive those genuine readings from the parent (O) of the codices AFDV. I now therefore proceed to shew how this is proved by the facts we have just surveyed.

Such is the inherent impossibility of the theory propounded by Messrs Plessis and Weber that nothing more conclusively demolishes it than their own practice. From their genealogy of the MSS it follows as a necessary consequence that whenever the family DV agrees with the family AF (or with F where A is absent) in the reading offered, and N differs, then, except the difference be palaeographically infinitesimal, the reading of AFDV must have stood in the archetype, and the reading of N must be wrong; for AF and DV, according to the stemmata of these scholars, are two independent witnesses to the reading of the archetype, and the consenting testimony of two independent witnesses must be believed against the dissent of one. Now I have just been filling pages with passages where this phenomenon occurs: do Messrs Plessis and Weber accept the consequence? No: they habitually in these passages prefer the reading of N. For instance: in I xiii 11 both AF and DV give '*nec* tibi uulgares istos *componet* amores', and instead of *nec... componet* N gives *haec...compescet:* this latter lection Mr Plessis (p. 38) and Mr Weber (p. 14) adopt. And they do well; but there is an end of their theory. For turn to the stemmata codicum of these scholars and consider what this phenomenon means if they have divined aright the relationships of the MSS. It means in the first place—and this is quite credible—that *haec...compescet*, which stood in O, was correctly copied into X but was corrupted to *nec...componet* in Y: this, I say, is quite credible. But now behold a portent. While *haec...compescet*, which stood in X, was correctly copied into N, the scribe of the parent codex of AF not only blundered in copying from X but pitched upon that very blunder which was made by the scribe of Y in copying from O:—wrote *nec* for *haec* and *componet* for *compescet*. Now it is not impossible that two independent scribes, copying from different MSS, should once or twice coincide in error if that error be diplomatically very slight. But the theory of Messrs Plessis and Weber demands of our credulity that this coincidence in error shall have occurred not once or twice but fifty times over, and in places where the error is not slight but extraordinary. The thing is inconceivable. Imagine two several copyists from diverse exemplars mistaking *ni* for *quis* (II vii 3), *ob inuidiam* for *prae inuidia* (II xxvi 5), *modo* for *quoque* (II xxvi 44), *includere* for *componere* (II xxxiv 43), *nuda* for *facta* (IV i 28), *erit* for *premit* (IV i 142), *opus* for *usus* (IV ii 64), *furta* for *tecta* (IV vii 15), *rependit* for *fundit* (IV vii 41)! Such phenomena as these passages present are explicable to Baehrens who holds N to be interpolated, explicable to me who recognise in N an element not derived from O: to Messrs Plessis and Weber they would be inexplicable if those critics apprehended their own theory. But they do not: they have propounded it without perceiving what it meant.

The theory of Mr Solbisky escapes this objection. The two families DV and AF are not, in his stemma, as they are in the stemmata of Messrs Plessis and Weber, absolutely independent witnesses to the reading of O: he has provided a channel by which AF may have derived readings from DV, and he is thus enabled to explain the agreement of the two families in places where Messrs Plessis and Weber cannot explain it. It is when the facts under discussion are considered in another aspect that they overthrow the system of Mr Solbisky. Let any one peruse the foregoing pages and mark the lections adduced from N, their number, and not their excellence merely but in very many cases the obviousness of that excellence: then let him take in hand Mr Solbisky's stemma codicum and ask himself by what malignity of fate it happens that all these manifestly true readings, which Mr Solbisky supposes to have stood in O, have twice missed the chance which was twice offered them of finding their way into AF. It is comprehensible that they should find their way into one only of the two apographs of O, into X and not into Y. But how strange it is that when X in its turn became the parent of apographs the same thing should happen over again: that all these obviously correct readings, while finding their way safely from X into N as they did from O into X, should fail to find their way from X into AF as they failed to find it from O into Y. And marvel accumulates on marvel when we consider in this connexion the nature, as represented by Mr Solbisky, of the family AF. That family, he holds, was formed by blending the tradition of Y with the tradition of X. Now the tendency of MSS which blend two strains of tradition is to choose the easier of any two readings proffered by their two sources[1]. But we are fresh from the perusal of passages, which though numerous are only a selection from a much greater number, where N gives a reading not merely true but obviously so, DV a reading not merely false but unintelligible, and yet AF always sides with DV. Take one representative instance, IV ii 64, and consider what it is that Mr Solbisky would have us believe: that the scribe who wrote the codex whence AF descend, having before him the two versions 'unum *opus* est, operi non datur unus honos' (N) and 'unum *usus* est, operi non datur unus honos' (DV), set aside the former, which is simplicity itself, and adopted the latter, which can neither be scanned nor construed; and that habitually throughout his task he thus chose the evil and refused the good. Incredible: the fact that all these true and simple readings are found in N only, and not in AF, means that they were inaccessible to AF; that they were not in X any more than in Y; and consequently that N did not derive them from X. There will be more to say against Mr Solbisky's theory when I come to deal particularly with AF; but this suffices to demonstrate his error in the matter of N. And in order that due weight may be attached to my arguments against his theory it must be remembered that he himself has put forward no argument in its favour. He has adduced evidence to support his estimate of the various MSS, but to support his view of the relationship subsisting between them he has adduced none.

If any one should fabricate the theory, untenable for many reasons, that N is derived straight from O, not through X, it would still be impossible to maintain that N derives from O the readings we have been considering, because, as I have said, when two independent witnesses, such as X and Y, consent in their testimony to the reading of their archetype, that consent outweighs the contrary testimony of a single witness. There remains therefore no alternative to the position which I defend, that N possesses a genuine element not derived from O the archetype of AFDV.

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[1] Thus in the instance immediately to be quoted, IV ii 64, only four of the thirty-nine MSS examined by Mr Hosius have *usus*, all the rest *opus*.

§ 5. *N better than AFDV in disagreement.*

I now bring forward a certain number of passages where N presents a correct reading which is not preserved in A or F or D or V but which, by comparing the testimony of AF with that of DV, we infer to have existed in their common parent, which I call O. The bearing of these phenomena I shall discuss after I have exhibited them.

I iv 21, 22.

> et te circum omnis alias irata puellas
> *differet.*

differet Nfv, *differt* AF, *deferet* DV.

I x 25.

> *irritata* uenit, quando contemnitur illa.

irritata N, *irritatura* AF, *iritata* DV.

II ix 26.

> cum capite hoc Stygiae iam *poterentur* aquae.

poterentur N, *potarentur* F, *peterentur* DV.

II xiii 46—50. (Solbisky pp. 167 sq.)

> Nestoris est uisus post tria saecla cinis.
> cui si tam longae *minuisset* fata senectae
> Gallicus Iliacis miles in aggeribus,
> non aut Antilochi uidisset corpus humari
> diceret aut 'o mors, cur mihi sera uenis?'

Here in v. 47 I have accepted the 'cui si tam longae' of Liuineius and Santen for the 'quis tam longaeuae' of the MSS: but whether you read thus, or 'cui si longaeuae' with others, or even 'quoi stamen longae' with Baehrens, makes no difference, any more than does the corrupt 'Gallicus' of v. 48, to the question we are now to consider. *minuisset* is the reading of Nfv, *inruuisset* of F, *meminisset* of DV. Now this divergence of F and DV makes it plain that, whatever was written by Propertius, *minuisset* was read by O. *min-uisset* is diplomatically indistinguishable from *iura-uisset*; *me-minisset* is a metrical correction of *minisset*, i.e. *minuisset* with its *u* absorbed by the neighbouring *n*. But because *minuisset* is in N Baehrens prefers to write *renuisset*.

II xxii 6.

> seu uarios *incinit* ore modos.

incinit N, *incūt* F, *inicit* DV. O clearly had *incīit* = *incinit*.

II xxii 22.

> *haut* umquam est culta labore Venus.

haut N, *hoc* F, *haud* DV. The *c* of F appears to indicate a *t*, not a *d*, in O.

II xxx 16.

> hic locus est in quo, tibia docta, *sones*.

sones Nf, *senes* F, *sonet* DV.

III v 6.

> nec miser aera paro *clade*, Corinthe, tua.

clade Nf, *pace* F, *classe* DV. Both *pace* and *classe* would arise more easily from an original *clade* than either of the two would arise from the other.

III x 15, 16.

> *dein, qua* primum oculos cepisti ueste Properti,
> indue.

dein qua N, *denique* F, *de qua* D, *te qua* V.

III xvi 17.

> saeua canum rabies morsus *auertit* hiantis.

auertit N, *aduertit* F, *auertat* DV.

III xxi 5, 6.

> omnia sunt temptata mihi, quacumque fugari
> possit; *at* ex omni me premit ille deus.

at Nf, *ad* F, *et* DV.

IV v 35, 36.

> ingerat Apriles Iole *tibi, tundat* Omichle
>   natalem Mais idibus esse tuum.

tibi tundat N, *circumdat* F, *tibi tondat* DV. It seems clear from the divergence of F and DV that O had what N has, and it further seems clear that this rare and idiomatic *tundat* is right: Passeratius quotes Donatus on Ter. hec. 123 'tundere est saepius idem repetere'. Baehrens adopts *contendat*, one of Heinsius' many conjectures on this passage; but there is no call for the handmaid to *maintain* this fact or fiction, as if any one were disputing it: she has only to din it into the lover's ears, lest it be forgotten.

The following example differs from those above in that the reading which N has and O had is not the correct reading but an early form of the corruption.

IV x 40, 41 (Leo p. 445).

> Belgica cui uasti parma relata ducis
> *Virdomari.*

Virtoman$\overset{i}{e}$ N, *Dutomani* F, *Vncomani* DV. O had *Virtomani*: FDV have all corrupted the *ir*; F has corrupted the *V* and preserved the *t*; DV have corrupted the *t* and preserved the *V*.

What is the source from which N derived these readings? Several answers are possible and therefore none is certain.

With two exceptions, these readings may have been derived, as Baehrens would contend, from conjecture based on a comparison of MSS belonging to the two families AF and DV. The two exceptions are the *haut* of II xxii 22, a form which no scribe of the early 15th century would dream of introducing, and the *Virtomani* of IV x 41, which cannot be a conjecture as it means nothing.

Or the readings may have been derived from O, not through either of the families AF and DV, but by some such channel as the stemmata of Messrs Solbisky, Plessis and Weber display. I have shewn however that those stemmata are on other grounds incredible.

Or, as I think likely, the readings may have been derived from that source whose existence I have been demonstrating, Z as I call it, a brother-codex of O, here preserving lections which were also preserved in O but corrupted in O's descendants AFDV.

But there is yet another possibility. With two exceptions again, N may have derived these readings, as it certainly derived much else, from a MS of the family AF. It will be observed that in our examples, excepting the two which head the list, that family is represented by F alone because A is three parts lost. Now F was written by a most ignorant man who added many mistakes of his own to those he found in his exemplar, so that when A is absent we cannot be sure whether the errors F presents are peculiar to itself or belong to its family. It is conceivable that if A contained the 2nd 3rd and 4th books we should find it giving, in the eleven last examples, the same reading as N[1]. But in the two first examples, I iv 22 and x 25 where A is extant, the tradition of the family AF is ascertained, and we see that N has not derived its reading thence.

I incline therefore to suppose that N derived these thirteen readings from Z, but I have thought myself bound to point out that other opinions are tenable. And of course some of the thirteen may have come from one source and others from another.

§ 6. *N better than O: spelling.*

I now come to deal with a matter in which Baehrens himself is constrained to admit the frequent superiority of N over AFDV, its spelling. This superiority he explains as follows, prolegg. p. IX:

> 'in sola re orthographica fieri potest ut libri N testi-
> 'monia singularia fidem mereantur, cum in illa uel fide-

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[1] There is room for hope that a collation of Mr Hosius' Neap. 268 may dispel this doubt.

'lissimi cetera librarii saepius suam secuti sint con-
'suetudinem minimeque sibi constiterint. quare in his
'Neapolitani scribam haud indoctum certisque usum
'normis interdum meliora seruasse non inepte sumes.'

On this I remark in the first place that Baehrens' theory of the MSS requires not one such scribe as he here imagines but two at the least. For according to him N was not copied straight from O but from a descendant of O belonging to the family AF: therefore the writer of that MS too must have been 'haud indoctus' etc.

But the scribe imagined by Baehrens is such a scribe as never was on sea or land. There breathed no man in the 15th century, for that is the date to which Baehrens assigns him, who knew what he is supposed to have known. Facts about Latin orthography which have only been ascertained in our own century, facts which are yet unknown to half the scholars in Europe, facts which Baehrens himself never learnt to his dying day, were in the possession, it appears, of this copyist of the renascence. And the man who thus forestalled in the 15th century the discoveries of the 19th was a man who filled his pages with such barbarisms as *michi*, *sompnus*, *contempno*, *solatia*, *iocundus* and *humidus*!

I shall enumerate the principal instances in which N alone gives the true spelling, or gives the better of two spellings, or, where two spellings are equally good, gives that one which had fallen out of use in the middle ages and was unknown or disapproved at the renascence. I begin with a crucial example.

IV ix 36.

et caua *succepto* flumine palma sat est.

succepto N, *suscepto* O. Caper orth. p. 98 Keil '*suscipimus* ad animum et mentem refertur, *succipimus* corpore', Velius Longus p. 34 'aliud est amicum *suscipere*, aliud aquam *succipere*'. The distinction laid down in these passages, which I borrow from Prof. Nettleship, Journal of Philology vol. XIII p. 80, is recognised by the MSS of Lucretius at IV 1250 and V 402 and of Virgil at Aen. I 175, IV 391, and VI 249, where the form *succipio* is employed in the physical sense. But at Aen. XI 806 even the capital MSS of Virgil err; and that so late a MS as N should preserve the true spelling is a trait of singular excellence.

II iv 5 *nequiquam* N, *nequicquam* O; III xvii 23 *nequiquam* N, *nequisquam* F, *nequicquam* DV.

IV i 7 *Tarpetius* N, *Tarpeius* DV, *Tarpeus* F. The *Tarpetius* of N is a relic of the form *Tarpeiius*[1].

I ii 3 *murra* N, *mirra* AF, *myrra* V; III x 22 *murreus* N *mureus* O; IV v 26 *murrea* N, *mirrea* F, *murea* DV.

II v 23 *conexos* N, *connexos* O.

IV i 13 and iv 63 *bucina* N, *buccina* O.

III xxii 35 *pelice* N, *pellice* O.

IV viii 79 *querellae* N, *querelae* O.

II xxxiv 68 *harundinibus* N, *arundinibus* O; IV ii 33 *harundine* N, *arundine* O.

III iii 23 *harenas* N, *arenas* O.

II iii 18 *euhantes* Nv, *euantes* DV, *eufaues* F.

III xiii 24 *Euhadne* N, *Euadne* O.

IV viii 48 *ei* N, *hei* F, *heu* DV.

IV x 47 *umeris* N, *humeris* O.

III xxi 5 *temptata* N, *tentata* O.

II xxviii 56 *omnis* (acc. plur.) N, *om̄s* F, *omnes* DV.

III v 13 and vii 35 *haut* N, *haud* O.

II xviii 21 *deminuo* N, *diminuo* O.

III i 22 *duplicei* N, *duplici* O.

III xiii 64 *equm* N, *equum* O; IV iii 36 *equs* N, *equus* O.

III xx 17 *pignera* Nf, *pignora* DV, *pignita* F.

IV v 52 *saluere* Nv, *saliere* O.

II xxxiii 1 and III x 31 *sollēpnia* N, *solemnia* O, telling instances against Baehrens because N while correctly preserving the *ll* has spelt the rest of the word barbarously.

§ 7. *N and O equidistant from archetype.*

Here I approach the end of my enquiry into the independent strain of genuine tradition existing in N. The last proofs of its existence which I shall offer are not less cogent than any which have gone before, but I have postponed them till now because they serve at once to conclude this part of the discussion and to introduce the next. Not only do they prove that N has a genuine element independent of O but they prove equally that O has a genuine element independent of N. They are passages where N and O have alike deserted the truth but have deserted it by divergent paths: where the reading of O is not a further corruption of N, nor the reading of N a further corruption of O, but both stand equidistant from their common archetype. Here then in closing my defence of N against Baehrens I begin my defence of O against Mr Leo.

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[1] So I said in this Journal in 1887: Mr Hosius now finds *Tarpeiius* in Vrb. 641.

II xxviii 35.

> deficiunt magico torti sub carmine *rhombi.*

bombi N, *rumbi* DV, *nimbi* F which is merely a further corruption of *rumbi*: *rumbi* was clearly the reading of O, as again at III vi 26:

> staminea *rhombi* ducitur ille rota.

bombi N, *rumbi* O. Of the archetypal *rombi,* N has in both places changed the first letter but kept the second, O has changed the second but kept the first.

III vi 3.

> *num* me laetitia tumefactum fallis inani?

non N, *dum* O, each preserving a part of the truth.

III xii 14.

> *sic redeunt,* illis qui cecidere locis.

si credunt N, *si credent* O, each omitting one letter. It is difficult to say which of several reasons induces Baehrens to write *si redient*: whether that it recedes further from both MSS, or that *redient* is used by no Augustan writer, or that *sic redeunt* is supported by Ovid met. XI 727 sq. '*sic*, o carissime coniunx, *sic* ad me, miserande, *redis*'.

III xiv 17.

> qualis et Eurotae Pollux et Castor *harenis.*

habenis Nfv, *athenis* O. Here N is a trifle nearer the truth than O, which has not only altered one letter but transposed another. It appears however that the reading in O is separately derived from the archetype and is not a corruption of the reading in N, since *t* arises much more easily from *r* than from *b*.

IV viii 21.

> *spectaclum* ipsa sedens primo temone pependit.

ibid. 56.

> *spectaclum* capta nec minus urbe fuit.

spectaculum N, *spectandum* O, in both places. Each scribe had *spectaclum* before him: the one recognised what was meant and substituted the common form to the ruin of the metre; the other mistook *cl* for *d* and substituted the nearest Latin word with like disaster to the sense.

IV viii 39.

> Nile, tuus tibicen erat, *crotalistria* Phyllis.

eboralistria N, *coralistria* O (F has *colistria* which comes from this by the omission of the compendium for *ra*). O omits one letter and transposes another: N neither omits nor transposes but corrupts three letters, writing *e* for *c*, *b* for *r*, *r* for *t*.

To these certain examples I add others which in my opinion display the same relationship of the MSS.

II xviii 5, 6.

> quid *mea si* canis aetas *canesceret* annis
> et faceret scissas languida ruga genas?

mea si...*canesceret* N, *si iam*...*mea caneret* O. The reading of N is usually accepted with Heinsius' change of *canesceret* to *candesceret*. But scientific criticism can hardly come to any other conclusion than that *canesceret* is an attempt to emend the unmetrical *caneret;* and Bentley did better to accept the reading of O with the change of *caneret* to *curreret*. I think however that I can recover the true texts from Ovid. This distich is followed by the words 'at non Tithoni spernens Aurora senectam' and eleven more lines which treat of that legend: comparing Ovid's address to Aurora, am. I 13 41 'cur ego plectar amans, si uir tibi *marcet ab annis*', and also Lucr. III 946 'si tibi non *annis* corpus iam *marcet*' and Sil. XV 743 'senex *marcentibus annis*', I propose the following[1] as best explaining what we find in our MSS:

> quid mea si canis aetas *marceret ab* annis?

mea caneret comes from *marcaberet*, i.e. *marceret ab* with the *ab* transposed: it was absorbed in the following *an-* and afterwards inserted above the line. Now we have to choose between *si iam* and *mea si*, and must prefer the latter, since *mea* is needed to save the sense from ambiguity. The Propertian archetype therefore should seem to have given the verse thus:

> quid *mea si* canis aetas *mea caneret* annis?

O avoids the repetition of *mea* by writing *si iam*: N more cleverly emends the false quantity at the same time by substituting *canesceret* for *mea caneret*.

III ix 9.

> gloria Lysippo est animosa *effingere* signa.

effingere N, *fingere* O. This is a divergency often found in MSS. and readily to be explained. It means that Propertius wrote *ecfingere*. In N this has been recognised for what it was and has been translated to the commoner form *effingere*. In the other stock *ec* was corrupted as usual into *et*, and then this importunate conjunction was omitted. (Compare Hor. epist. I 10 9 *fertis* most MSS, *effertis* Bland. uet., *ecfertis* Pauly; Ovid met. I 71 *feruescere* some MSS, *efferuescere* others, write *ecferuescere*; Sen. Thy. 988 *fluit* E, *effluit* cett., write *ecfluit*.

III xiv 19, 20.

> inter quos Helene nudis *capere arma papillis*
> fertur nec fratres erubuisse deos.

capere arma papillis N, *armata capillis* O (F inserts *est* before *armata*). The *papillis* of N is of course right: see IV iii 43 'felix Hippolyte, nuda tulit arma papilla'. But if *capere arma* was the original there is nothing to account for the *armata* of O, whereas *armata* will excellently account for *capere arma: ta* was lost in the following *pa* or *ca*, and *capere* was inserted to prop the metre. Read then, partly from N and partly from O, 'nudis *armata papillis* | fertur, nec fratres erubuisse deos'. This idiomatic coordination of participle with infinitive, 'fertur armata (esse) nec erubuisse', is not uncommon: compare Ovid fast. II 551 sq. 'bustis *exisse* feruntur | *et* tacitae *questi* tempore noctis aui', Prop. I x 5 sq. 'cum te complexa *morientem*, Galle, puella | uidimus *et* longa *ducere* uerba mora'. I must add that O's good faith is here more certain than N's, for the emendation *papillis* would not be hard to find if the scribe had *capillis* before him.

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[1] Mr Palmer has conjectured *marceret et*, Heinsius *marcesceret*.

IV iii 11, 12.

haecne marita fides, *hae sunt pactae mihi* noctes,
cum rudis urgenti bracchia uicta dedi?

hae sunt pactae mihi DV, *et pacate mihi* F, *et parce auia* N. In the reading above and in most of the conjectures proposed, such as Haupt's 'et pactae in sauia noctes', it is not so much their grossness which I blame, gross though they are, as their entire incongruity with the pentameter. As if the bride who according to her own account 'dedit bracchia uicta urgenti' can represent herself as there and then bargaining for 'noctes'! There remains Mr Lucian Mueller's '*pactae et* mihi *gaudia noctis* | cum' cet.: he explains 'pactae noctis' to mean 'noctis nuptialis'; but the interrogation 'haecne sunt gaudia noctis nuptialis?' addressed by Arethusa in Italy to Lycotas in Parthia seems little better than nonsense, and the variations of the MSS are not accounted for. Let us try first to find the reading of O: when DV have *hae sunt pactae mihi* and F *et pacatae mihi*, this may mean either that O had *hae* (*et*) *sunt pacatae mihi* and that its two apographs tried different ways of compression, or that it had *hae* (*et*) *pactae mihi* and that its two apographs tried different ways of expansion. To decide between these alternatives let us turn to the *et parce auia* of N: the reading most like this is *et pactae mihi*, which therefore I suspect to have been the reading of O. Now for the reading of the common archetype of O and N: I suggest that *et prae* *mia* stands half way between them, and that Propertius wrote 'haecne marita fides *et <primae> praemia* noctis | cum' cet., *primae* falling out before *praemi*: 'is your desertion the reward I merit for my surrender to your embraces?'

IV iv 9, 10.

> quid tum Roma fuit, tubicen uicina Curitis
> cum quateret lento murmure *saxa* Iouis?

saxa Nfv, *facta* O. Here N preserves the right word but O indicates that Propertius spelt it *sacxa*. So at Ovid met. II 326 we find the variants *saxum* and *factum*, at XIII 567 *saxum* and *iactum*, and the explanation I believe to be the same.

§ 8. *O better than N.*

Evidence is now to be adduced which will prove that O in its turn is often a more faithful witness than N. Here I shall be controverting the assertion of Mr Leo that 'AFDV [= O] omnino nihil ualent', and I shall have on my side Baehrens and, for the most part though not in all details, Mr Solbisky and Mr Weber. I shall begin with cases where the reading of N is inferior to the reading which, from the consent of the two families AF and DV, we know to have been the reading of O. The enumeration of these cases will not exhaust the merits of O, for there are many places where only AF or only DV present the true reading; and in those places we must of course conclude that this true reading was found in O, and must add those instances to the proofs of O's superiority over N. But such cases will be more conveniently dealt with when I come to appraise the relative value of the families AF and DV as witnesses to the tradition of O. Let it be borne in mind therefore that O is superior to N not only in the passages which I now bring forward but in others to which I shall duly call attention at a later stage of the enquiry.

At the head of these passages I set three which have peculiar significance. They are passages where the reading of O is corrupt and N has corrupted that reading further: they therefore prove the superior integrity of O with the same invincible cogency as was possessed by the evidence with which I began the defence of N.

III ii 3, 4.

> Orphea *detinuisse* feras et concita dicunt
> flumina Threicia sustinuisse lyra.

detinuisse Nv; but clearly neither this nor any compound of 'teneo' is tolerable with 'sustinuisse' in the next line. D is also corrupt and gives *te tenuisse;* but the consent of F and V, witnesses from each family, tells us that O had *detenuisse,* from which we easily elicit the generally received correction *delenisse.* Here then N has made a bad attempt at amending the slight and honest error of O.

III vi 9.

> *sicin eam* incomptis uidisti flere capillis?

sicut eam O, *si causa* N. The scribe of N had before him the *sic̄ cā̄* (= *sicut eam*) of O: he mistook it for *si cā̃* (= *si causa*).

III xviii 24 (Solbisky p. 176).

> scandenda est *torui* publica cumba senis.

torti O (DF: V is erased), *troci* N. All editors now read *torui* which is doubtless right; O then errs in one letter only; N has corrupted the corruption by changing *t* to *c* and transposing *r*. Mr Leo's 'scandenda *atrocis*' is further even from N than *torui* is. I would not conjecture *taetri,* though Juvenal III 265 writes '*taetrum*que nouicius horret | porthmea'.

II iii 27.

> non non humani *sunt partus* talia dona.

sunt partus O, *partus sunt* Nf.

II xxxiv 23.

> sed numquam uitae *me fallet* ruga seuerae.

me fallet O, *fallet me* N.

These two passages bear striking witness to the sincerity of O. Lucretius and Catullus with their contemporaries were much enamoured of the heavy and stately rhythm imparted to an hexameter whose fourth foot is a spondee by making that spondee consist of a single word: 'quae mare nauigerum, quae *terras* frugiferentis', 'surgere iam tempus, iam *pinguis* linquere mensas'. In the Augustan age fashion changed and this rhythm was oftenest avoided: 'arma uirumque cano, Troiae *qui* primus ab oris', 'hanc tua Penelope len*to tibi* mittit, Vlixe', not 'qui *Troiae*' or 'tibi *lento*'. Throughout the later literature the Augustan cadence kept its vogue, and it was thus more familiar and acceptable to the ears of medieval copyists. But the Augustan poets understood well enough the value of variety, and they accordingly diversify their numbers by recurring now and then to the antiquated rhythm. Propertius, to believe the consenting testimony of our MSS, employs it in fourteen instances where he might without detriment to sense or rhetoric—I omit cases where either of these would suffer—so have transposed his words as to give his usual cadence: II ii 13 'quas *pastor* uiderat', iii 5 'si *posset* piscis', 19 'cum *temptat* carmina', 33 'si *flagret* nostra', v 1 'te *ferri* Cynthia', xxiii 7 'quos *dicit* fama', xxiv 1 'iam *noto* fabula', xxix 1 'cum *potus* nocte', 19 'iam *certos* spondet', xxxiv 29 'tibi *prosunt* carmina', III ix 1 'si *uersat* femina', xviii 1 'qua *ludit* pontus', xx 7 'sunt *castae* Palladis', IV vii 89 'nox *clausas* liberat'. But the scribes preferred the customary rhythm and sometimes took upon themselves to restore it; so we find two passages, noted by Baehrens prolegg. p. XIV, where the MSS differ: I ix 31 'illis et silices et *possunt* cedere quercus' and III i 19 'mollia, Pegasides, date *uestro* serta poetae': in these two cases both O and N agree in ordering the words as above, while inferior MSS give 'possunt et' and 'uestro date'. Now just as N and O in these two cases shew themselves superior to other MSS, so does O in the two verses from which I started shew itself superior to N.

II xxx 21.

spargereque alterna communes caede penates.

spargereque O, *spargere et* N. Here is a like instance. The attachment of *que* to a short *e* is eschewed by Virgil and Ovid who set the fashion to posterity and accordingly is discountenanced by the scribes. But it is Propertian: at III xxi 13 both O and N agree in the exact parallel 'iungiteque extremo'; and Tib. I 3 34 quoted by Burmann has 'reddereque antiquo'. O then has here preserved a characteristic reading in the face of a strong temptation to which N has succumbed.

II xxxii 33—36.

> ipsa Venus, *quamuis* corrupta libidine Martis,
> nec minus in caelo semper honesta fuit,
> quamuis Ida [Parim] pastorem dicat amasse
> atque inter pecudes accubuisse deam.

'Parim' is of course corrupt; but we are now concerned with v. 33 where O has *quamuis*, N *fertur*. There is no more open interpolation than *fertur* in any MS of any author. O gives a recondite yet perfectly correct construction of the sort which grammarians call hyperbaton or ἀπὸ κοινοῦ: in its most natural form the sentence would be 'Venus non minus honesta fuit quamuis corrupta libidine Martis et quamuis Ida pastorem dicat amasse deam', but since the apodosis appertains equally to either protasis it may no less legitimately be placed in juxtaposition with the second, in the order 'Venus, quamuis corrupta libidine Martis, et non minus honesta fuit quamuis Ida dicat' etc., an arrangement especially dear to Horace but frequent also throughout Latin poetry: then the words 'et non' are replaced by their equivalent 'nec'[1]. But this was too subtle for the scribe of N, and he thought to simplify matters by substituting *fertur*, which is indignantly ejected by all modern editors but Mr Palmer who says 'cur ab optimo libro subito desciscam non uideo': the answer is 'quia subito fit pessimus'. Here is the case in a nutshell: will *quamuis* account for *fertur*? Yes. Will *fertur* account for *quamuis*? No.

II i 2.

> unde meus ueniat mollis in *ora* liber.

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[1] It may be that 'nec minus' = 'et', as at I iii 5, xv 7, II xxxii 59, in which case the form of the hyperbaton will be simpler.

ora O, *ore* N. The latter though retained by Hertzberg and Palmer is incorrect: the Romans, as Burmann observes, said 'esse in ore' (Ovid fast. VI 528, her. XVI 34) but 'uenire in ora' (Prop. III i 24, ix 32, Catull. 40 5, Hor. epist. I 3 9).

II xx 7, 8.

> nec tantum Niobe bis sex ad busta superbe
> sollicito *lacrimans* defluit a Sipylo.

lacrimans O, *lacrimas* N. Mr Lucian Mueller seems to have reason in saying that 'tam uetusto tamque bono scriptori non conuenit uerbum deflendi cum accusatiuo iunctum'. It was not until the Augustan age that even 'mano' began to be thus used: to find a similar employment of 'fluo' and its compounds Lachmann has to descend to Claudian. *lacrimans* therefore is preferable to *lacrimas*. The distich however needs emendation, and the usual change of *superbe* to *superba* does not emend it. It is correct to say of a liquid that it 'defluit a monte', and so it would be correct to say here, as Heinsius proposed, 'nec tantum Niobae (dat.)...lacrimae (gen.) defluit a Sipylo'; but a solid body which streams or drips with a liquid does not 'defluere *a* monte' but '*in* monte' (Sen. Herc. fur. 390 sq. 'riget superba Tantalis luctu parens | maestusque Phrygio *manat in Sipylo* lapis'), and 'Niobe defluit a Sipylo' cannot be defended. Now *Niobe...superbe* would in our archetype be the same thing as *Niobae...superbae*, which indeed some of the later MSS restore: I would confine alteration therefore to the inappropriate *a* and write 'nec tantum Niobae bis sex ad busta superbae | sollicito lacrimans defluit *os* Sipylo'.

II xxv 41—44.

> uidistis pleno teneram candore puellam,
> uidistis fusco: ducit uterque color.
> uidistis quandam Argiua *prodire* figura,
> uidistis nostras: utraque forma rapit.

prodire Nfv, *prodente* O. The former can be construed and the latter can not; but this very fact will seem to favour *prodente* and stamp *prodire* as a conjecture when one considers how unsatisfactory the construable reading is: how inappropriate is *quandam* and how ill the singular is opposed to the plural *nostras*. In moret. 32 I find the following words which at once confirm *prodente* and shew us how to emend the context: 'Afra genus, tota patriam *testante figura*'. Write accordingly 'uidistis *patriam* Argiuas *prodente* figura, | uidistis nostras'. *patriam* is no violent alteration, for *p* is much confused with *qu*, as also is *tr* with *cl* (in *trudo* and *cludo* perpetually) and *cl* with *d*.

II XXX 19. (Solbisky pp. 173—5.)

num tu, dura, paras Phrygias nunc ire per undas?

nunc tu dura paras DV and so doubtless O: F omits *tu*. Scaliger restored *num* for *nunc*, and it is probable that *dura* should be altered to *dure*. But N has the extraordinary and meaningless reading *non tamen inmerito*. These words occur, as Mr L. Mueller praef. p. VII has pointed out, in III xix 27 '*non tamen inmerito* Minos sedet arbiter Orci': the scribe saw before him *nc tu* (= *nunc tu*) which he mistook for *nō tñ* (= *non tamen*); the other verse came into his head and he carelessly added *inmerito* instead of *dura paras*. I could quote many similar errors, but let one from the immediate context suffice: at 36 D gives 'Bistoniis olim rupibus *ingemuit*' for '*accubuit*' because I i 14 'saucius Arcadiis *rupibus ingemuit*' was running in the copyist's mind. See then the foundation of sand on which Mr Leo constructs his conjecture '*num tamen ingredior*'! But although O is clearly faithful and N corrupt, nevertheless to call the latter 'interpolated' here with Baehrens is to use language at random: its blunder is stupid, but transparently honest.

II xxxiv 29, 30.

aut quid *Crethei* tibi prosunt carmina lecta?
nil iuuat in magno uester amore senex.

Crethei O, *Erechti* N, whence v invents *Erechthei*, and this absurd conjecture has become the common reading. Absurd I call it, because 'the old Athenian poet' designates no one in the world. No city was ever so rich in poets as Athens, and all her greatest poets lived to old age. Now *Erechti*, which has prompted this foolish guess, is simply a disarrangement of the seven letters which form *Crethei* and which O has kept in their proper order. And *Crethei* is the medieval way of spelling *Cretaei*: the person designated is the philosopher Epimenides, just the poet whom the philosopher Lynceus would study, and certainly one who 'nil iuuat in amore'. But there is one word more to say: whether we write *Cretaei* or *Erechthei*, Propertius could use neither of these words as a substantive, and the substantive must be sought in *lecta*. I believe that Mr Palmer has discovered it: *plectri*: compare Sil. VIII 596 'Smyrnaeis aemula plectris' = rivalling Homer.

II xxxiv 31, 32.

> tu satius *musis memorem* imitere Philetam
> et non inflati somnia Callimachi.

musis memorem O, *memorem musis* N. Both readings are meaningless but O's is unmetrical into the bargain: probably therefore it is the more genuine of the two and N gives an attempt at correction. The simplest emendation no doubt is the *Musis meliorem* (= meliorem Musarum iudicio) found in some interpolated MSS; but *meliorem* is tautological after *satius*, and we seem rather to require an epithet balancing the 'non inflati' of the pentameter, which shall indicate some characteristic of these erotic poets distinguishing them from the philosophical or epic or tragic writers whom Lynceus has studied hitherto: this is one reason for rejecting Jacob's ingenious *Meropem musis* based on N. A very slight change then will be Santen's *leuiorem*: 'leuis' is almost a technical description of amatory verse: II xii 22 'haec mea Musa leuis': *musis* then means 'carminibus' as in Verg. buc. I 2 and often elsewhere. No wider alteration is needed, for the construction 'satius imitere' for 'satius est ut imitere' is well defended with examples by Mr L. Mueller.

III i 23.

> *omnia* post obitum fingit maiora *uetustas.*

omnia...uetustas O, *fame...uetustae* N, which seems to be a mere blunder: the reading of O is irreproachable, and no editor has accepted or is likely to accept Mr Heimreich's conjecture 'fama post obitum fiunt maiora uetusta'. Perhaps too the following fact speaks for O: Friedlaender, Martial p. 81, tells us that Martial's MS Q (Arondellianus Gronouii) at v 10 gives in the margin a distich whose origin he does not appear to recognise: 'omnia post fatum fingit maiora uetustas: | maius ab exsequiis nomen in ora uenit.' That MS belongs to the 15th century, so that the quotation may have been made from memory by a scribe who had read Propertius in one of the codices descended from O; but on the other hand the variant *fatum* for *obitum* may indicate some source independent of O and N alike.

III vii 43—46.

quod si contentus patrios boue uorteret agros
  uerbaque duxisset pondus habere mea,
uiueret ante suos dulcis conuiua penates,
  pauper, at in terra nil *ubi* flere potest?

So N. This reading can only be punctuated as above and explained with Mr Palmer 'poor I grant, but where in the world is it possible to have no cause of sorrow?' In another poem the words might have that sense; but this elegy is devoted to contrasting the security of the land with the risks of the sea, and 'terra' must here perforce mean 'dry land' and nothing else: it is impossible without ruinous ambiguity to use 'ubi in terra' or even 'in terris' for 'ubi gentium'. Other critics, that 'terra' may have its due meaning, write 'pauper, at in terra, nil ubi *flare* potest', 'where blowing is powerless', others again 'nil ubi, *Caure, potes*'; from all which one turns with some impatience to the reading of O. This is *nisi* instead of *ubi*; and Baehrens has founded on it one of the finest corrections ever made in this poet's text: 'pauper, at in terra nil *nisi fleret opes*', 'poor I grant, but on dry land his poverty would have been his only grief'. 'opes' is one of those words which the grammarians call μέσα: it takes its colour from the context and means 'riches' or 'poverty' as that requires: for the latter sense, overlooked by lexicographers, see Ovid fast. III 56 'nec taceam uestras, Faustule *pauper, opes*', II 302, Ibis 420.

The error in all our MSS arose from the transposition 'flere *potes*': *nisi* and *ubi* are confused at Cic. de fin. II 14 44 and Luc. IX 578.

III xi 25.

> duxit et Euphraten medium *quam* condidit arces.

Semiramis building Babylon is the theme. O has *quam* without sense: N gives *qua* which is generally read. But 'duxit medium qua condidit' is a vague and clumsy expression, and far inferior to what Baehrens following Heinsius has restored from the reading of O: 'medium, *quam* condidit, *arcis*', 'through the midst of the stronghold she built': the arrangement of the words, for which compare Ovid met. XIII 916 'innitens, quae stabat proxima, moli', laid a trap for the copyists.

III xiii 55, 56.

> te scelus accepto Thracis Polymestoris auro
> nutrit in hospitio non, Polydore, *tuo*.

tuo O, *pio* N. Baehrens rightly accepts *tuo*, the idiomatic use of the possessive pronoun in the sense of 'fausto'. Of two readings which are equally good we prefer the less obvious.

III xiv 27, 28.

> non Tyriae uestes errantia lumina fallunt
> est neque *odoratae* cura molesta domi.

odoratae O, *adoratae* N. The reading of N was retained only by Hertzberg, who himself believed in it so little that he offered in its stead two or three conjectures too absurd for mention. Canter's correction '*odoratae* c. m. *comae*' is now generally accepted, and the following facts seem to render it certain: Ovid, who in fast. II 357 has imitated the hexameter with 'fallentes lumina uestes' and employs 'odoratae...comae' at ars II 734, evidently imitates the whole couplet when in med. form. 18 sq. he writes 'uultis inaurata corpora *ueste tegi*. | uultis *odoratos* positu uariare *capillos*'.

III xxii 11—14.

> tuque tuo Colchum propellas remige Phasim
> Peliacaeque trabis totum iter ipse legas,
> qua rudis *Argoa* natat inter saxa columba
> in faciem prorae pinus adacta nouae.

Argoa N, with which the editors have found no fault; nor is it indefensible, though the 'Peliaca trabs' and the 'pinus' are none other than Argo, so that the sentence virtually amounts to 'natat Argo, Argoa columba duce'. But we look rather for some such epithet as 'Iasonia'; and we find it in the *Argea* of O. *Argeus* is Ἀργεῖος the adjective of Ἄργος, that is, not of τὸ Ἄργος *Argos* the city but of ὁ Ἄργος *Argus* the builder of Argo. And here is strong confirmation: Propertius at II xxvi 39 sq. has these words, 'uenti...qui mouistis montis duo, cum ratis *Argo* | dux erat ignoto missa *columba* mari'. The editors could not construe this, and altered *Argo* to the genitive *Argus;* but Mr Ellis (Univ. Coll. prof. dissert. 1872—3) has pointed out that *Argo* is Ἄργῳ, the dative of Argus, who not only built the vessel but had it under his care throughout the voyage: Val. Fl. I 477 'Arge, tuae tibi cura ratis'. When these two passages, with the 'columba' in each of them, are set side by side, it seems to be placed beyond possibility of doubt that *Argea* is the truth.

III xxiii 11—15.

> forsitan haec illis *fuerint* mandata tabellis:
> 'irascor, quoniam es, lente, moratus heri.
> 'an tibi nescio quae uisa est formosior? an tu
> 'non bona de nobis carmina ficta iacis?'
> aut dixit 'uenies hodie, cessabimus una'.

fuerint N and editors, even Baehrens; *fuerant* O. Now Propertius twice (II ix 22, xv 54) has 'forsitan' with the indicative; in a third place (III xx 6) the MSS are divided between indicative and subjunctive; here they are divided again. It seems then that in both these last places we ought to follow those MSS which give the indicative. But in this passage there is more to be said; for observe that in v. 15 he goes on 'aut *dixit*': that surely settles the question. It is of course possible that Propertius wrote *fuerunt*.

III xxiii 19, 20.

> me miserum, his aliquis rationem scribit auarus,
>   et ponit *duras* inter ephemeridas.

duras O, *diras* N with ludicrous over-emphasis.

IV v 57, 58.

> qui uersus, Coae dederit nec munera uestis,
>   istius tibi sit surda sine *arte* lyra.

arte O, *aere* N. 'surda sine *arte*', says Lachmann, 'nihil significat'. It signifies 'unmusicianly and so tuneless': compare Lucr. V 841 'muta sine ore etiam, sine uoltu caeca', 'mouthless and so dumb', 'eyeless and so blind'. *aere* looks very pretty as long as one does not attend to the context, and is adopted by most editors since Lachmann. See the result: 'if a lover brings you verses only and no Coan robe, deem his lyre tuneless—*unless he brings you money*'! To have said 'qui *munera* non dederit, istius surda sit lyra sine *muneribus*' would have been clumsy iteration but nothing worse: in 'qui *uestem* non dederit, istius surda sit lyra sine *aere*' absurdity is superadded.

IX x 45.

> *haec* spolia in templo tria condita.

haec O (DF: V is erased), *nunc* N. He has related the stories of 'arma de ducibus trina recepta tribus', and *haec* is very appropriate in summing up at the end: *nunc* is at best superfluous.

Five passages follow in which words or verses omitted by N are preserved by O.

II xxxiv 81—84.

> non tamen haec ulli uenient ingrata legenti,
>   siue in amore rudis siue peritus erit,
> nec minor his animis aut sim *minor ore canorus*
>   anseris indocto carmine cessit olor.

N omits *minor ore canorus.* The explanation doubtless is that the scribe saw that the line was nonsense and desisted from finishing it. That the words are substantially genuine is not doubted by the editors: an interpolator would have given us something easier. Let us try to emend the verse: the poet has been praising the bucolics and georgics of Virgil: he now proceeds 'but yet light poems such as I write will please all readers, lovers or no; nor—' then comes the corruption. The sense, it is generally recognised, must be 'nor is Virgil less inspired (minor animis) in poems of this kind than in his more important works': the simplest restoration seems to be the following, 'nec minor *hic* (= in his scriptis: cf. *haec* in v. 81) animis, *ut sit* minor ore, canorus | anseris indocto carmine cessit olor', 'and the melodious swan, displaying equal genius though less stately diction in these light verses, has not retired with the tuneless strain of a goose'. *hic* is printed by accident in Lachmann's second edition.

III ix 35.

non ego uelifera tumidum mare findo carina.

This verse is omitted by N, but the editors rightly retain it. The only handle it gives to objectors is *findŏ*, the earliest example in Latin poetry of a spondee transformed into a trochee by the shortening of a final *o*. But every change must have a beginning; and it is in Propertius that we might expect to find the fashion started which becomes common in Ovid: thus his elder contemporaries Horace and Tibullus with their *Poliŏ* and *desinŏ* are the first who by a similar shortening transform cretics into dactyls. I may further point out that Ovid seems to imitate this verse in met. XV 719 'huc ubi *ueliferam* nautae aduertere *carinam*' and ex Pont. III 2 67 'cum duo *uelifera* iuuenes uenere *carina*', and pseudo-Ovid in her. XV 31 sq. 'nec me crede *fretum* merces portante *carina* | *findere*'.

A. E. HOUSMAN.

(*To be continued.*)

THE MANUSCRIPTS OF PROPERTIUS *(continued)*.

III x 15—18.

> dein, qua primum oculos cepisti ueste Properti,
>   indue, nec uacuum flore relinque caput.
> et pete, qua polles, ut sit tibi forma perennis,
>   inque meum semper stent tua regna caput.

N omits the second distich for a plain reason: the two pentameters end with the same word and begin with two words almost the same, and the scribe's eye glanced from the one to the other. No doubt is cast on the lines by the recurrence of *caput*, a negligence very common in Roman elegy: see p. 187.

III xi 57, 58.

> septem urbs alta iugis toti quae praesidet orbi
>   femineas timuit territa Marte minas?

N omits the pentameter.

IV iii 7.

> te modo uiderunt iteratos *Bactra per ortus*.

So O: N omits the three last words. It is admitted I think by all critics but N's most fanatical devotee Mr Heimreich that this can be no interpolation: Mr Solbisky p. 181 well asks 'quomodo librarius, si in exemplari suo nihil nisi *te modo uiderunt iteratos* inuenisset, in uoces illas satis quidem quaesitas incidere potuit?' O then is better than N; but the line can hardly be right as it stands. For an explanation of 'iteratos per ortus' some refer us with extreme irrelevance to Ovid fast. VI 199 'mane ubi bis fuerit Phoebusque *iterauerit ortus*': Propertius then makes a wife in Rome write to her husband in Parthia and tell him that he has recently been at Bactra for two days! Others take 'ortus' for the East and 'iteratos' for 'iterum peragratos' comparing Hor. carm. I 7 32 'cras ingens iterabimus aequor'; but the one phrase is no warrant for the other, and the meaning, even if possible, is most obscure: Mr L. Mueller has reason for saying of this passage 'nec uero quisquam satis expediuit'. The true reading I suspect to be 'te modo *Ituraeos uiderunt* Bactra per *arcus*': compare Verg. georg. II 448 '*Ituraeos* taxi torquentur in *arcus*', Luc. VII 230 '*Ituraeis* cursus fuit inde *sagittis*', 514 sq. 'tunc et *Ituraei* Medique Arabesque, soluto | *arcu* turba minax, nusquam rexere *sagittas*', bell. Afr. 20 '*sagittariis...Ituraeis*'.

I conclude with a selection of examples in which the error of N is obvious and undefended. They are of no great significance, but deserve mention among the other instances of O's frequent superiority.

II xxxii 8: tibi me credere turba *uetat*: *uetat* O, *uocat* N: none will propose *uotat*. II xxxiii 9: cum te iussit habere puellam cornua *Iuno*: *Iuno* O, *humo* N. III i 36: illum post cineres auguror ipse *diem*: *diem* O, *deae* N. III v 7: o prima infelix *fingenti* terra Prometheo: *fingenti* O, *frangenti* N. III ix 37: non *flebo* in cineres arcem sedisse: *flebo* O, *phebo* N. III xiii 33, 34: his tum blanditiis furtiua per *antra* puellae | oscula siluicolis empta dedere uiris: *antra* O, *rara* N. III xvi 9: peccaram semel, et totum sum *pulsus* in annum: *pulsus* O, *portus* N. IV ix 38: Alciden terra *recepta* uocat: *recepta* O, *suscepta* N.

§ 9. *O better than N: spelling.*

I give separately the cases where O shews itself N's superior in matters orthographical.

II xv 20, xxii 6, III xiv 5, IV iv 28, vii 66 and viii 67 *bracchia* O, *brachia* N.

II xxviii 23 *Calisto* O, *Callisto* N: see Baehrens in Fleckeisen's annual for 1883, p. 787.

II xiv 2 *Laumedontis* O, *Laomedontis* N.

IV i 108 *petunda* O, *petenda* N.

III xviii 5 *mortalis* (acc. plur.) O, *mortales* N.

§ 10. *Doubt between N and O.*

Further evidence redounding to the credit of O and the discredit of N will be forthcoming, as I said above, when we treat of the two families AF and DV. But we are already in a position to weigh with perfect impartiality the testimony of N and O where they conflict; and I will here examine certain passages in which it is hard to decide between them.

I viii 43—46.

nunc mihi summa licet contingere sidera palmis:
  siue dies seu nox uenerit, illa mea est;
nec mihi riualis *certos* subducit amores:
  ista meam norit gloria canitiem.

certos Nf and V, with which no fault can be found. But the reading of O was something quite different, for AF have *summos* and D *somnus*: V, which as I shall shew in an appendix has been much tampered with, is not a witness to be believed against these three MSS when we are enquiring what stood in O. Now it is possible that *certos* may be right and that the *summa* of v. 43 may have caused an error *summos* in v. 45. But it is equally possible that *summos* is the corruption and *certos* the gloss of *firmos*, which Mr Rossberg proposes to restore: see Ovid ars II 385 'hoc *firmos* soluit *amores*'. *firmos* is virtually the same thing as *fūmos* from which *somnus* arises by the transposition of the vowels: it is identical in meaning with *certos* but much less frequent in elegiac poetry, and the more familiar word may have been written above as an explanation; or *certos* may be a mere conjecture in lieu of *summos*, suggested by II xxix 19 'iam *certos* spondet *amores*'.

II viii 11—13.

ergo tam multos nimium temerarius annos,
  improba, *qui* tulerim teque tuamque domum,
ecquandone tibi liber sum uisus?

qui O, perhaps rightly: *quin* N, from which Mr Lucian Mueller, perhaps rightly, elicits *quum*.

II xiii 58.

> nam mea *quid* poterunt ossa minuta loqui?

quid O, *qui* N, between which there is nothing to choose; but Mr Mueller points out that at IV i 86 N gives *qui* where *quid* is necessary: a fact which shakes its witness here.

II xviii 21, 22.

> quin ego deminuo curam, quod saepe Cupido
> *nunc* malus esse solet, cui bonus ante fuit.

nunc O, *huic* Nfv: I prefer the latter, but either is defensible.

II xxviii 21.

> Andromede monstris fuerat *monstrata* marinis.

monstrata O, an obvious corruption caused by *monstris. deuota* Nfv, which we may hope to be the genuine reading, like the *includere* which in similar circumstances Nv preserve at II xxxiv 43 against the *componere* of O. But here we have no such confirmation as is there supplied by the words I quoted from Gellius, and our hope is no more than a hope: we have learnt than N is not free from interpolation.

II xxxiv 1, 2.

> cur quisquam faciem dominae *non credit* amori?
> sic erepta mihi paene puella mea est.

non credit O, *iam credat* Nfv. Propertius reproaches his friend Lynceus for making love to Cynthia. Clearly then the reading of O is nonsense; and N's is no better till *amori* has been changed with the Italians into *amico*, for no lover was ever so foolish as knowingly to trust his mistress 'amori', i.e. to one who is in love with her. Supposing that *amico* is a true correction one may either accept *iam credat*, or may regard *non credit* as a corruption of *nunc credit* (Postgate) or of *concredit*: this hypothesis will explain *iam credat* as an attempt at correction while the other will hardly explain *non credit*; yet *iam* is favoured by v. 24 'omnes *iam* norunt quam sit amare bonum'. But *amico* with all the readings which contain it is open to the objection that though 'credere dominam amico' is an excellent phrase, the phrase 'credere *faciem* dominae amico' is not so easy to accept; and it may be that we ought rather to prefer with Baehrens the *non credit* of O and alter *amori* with v into *amari*: the confusion of *amare* and *amore* is frequent in our MSS. The sense will be then 'why does any lover shut his eyes to the fact that his mistress' face makes others fall in love with it?' Yet again it must be admitted that 'cur quisquam...credit amico' leads up better to the 'nemo est in amore fidelis' of v. 3; and I for my part am altogether at a loss to decide between the various readings.

II xxxiv 39, 40.

> non Amphiaraeae prosint tibi fata quadrigae
> aut Capanei *magno* grata ruina Ioui.

The simplest amendment of the hexameter is to strike out *non* with Munro and make the sentence interrogative: see a similar corruption at III xiii 35, *atque hinuli* for *hinulei*. In the pentameter N has *magno*, O omits it. Now *magno* is well enough, and Propertius writes 'magno...Ioui' at II xxxii 60, but it is hard to see why it should fall out; and there is more diplomatic probability about Heinsius' *irato*: this word is a good deal confused, as at I vi 10, with *ingrato*, which would easily be lost between *i* and *grata*; and it manifestly has more peculiar appropriateness than *magno*, which may have been suggested to an interpolator by II xxxii 60 quoted above: Ovid Ibis 469 sq. referring to Capaneus writes 'aut *Iouis infesti* telo feriare trisulco | ut satus Hipponoo'. It is however uncertain whether Propertius would venture to elide this diphthong in a Greek name. Seeing that even before a short syllable he employs the very rare elision of a long Greek vowel in II xxviii 19 'Ino etiam', he may be thought capable of eliding before a long syllable even the diphthong, which after all is not a Greek diphthong: but it is perhaps safest to suspend judgment.

III v 39.

> sub terris sint iura deum et tormenta *gigantum*.

gigantum is given by O, omitted by N. Haupt (ind. lectt. Berlin 1854—5) raises some factitious objections to the presence of 'gigantes' in hell, and then proceeds to demolish them by quoting Stat. Theb. IV 533 and VIII 42, to which Ellis adds Sil. XIII 590. But Haupt goes on to say with some truth that 'iura deum' and 'tormenta' point in another direction. When Propertius grows old he says he will turn philosopher and enquire whether what we hear about hell is true 'an ficta in miseras descendit fabula gentis | et timor haut ultra quam rogus esse potest': now the tales which strike terror into mankind are not so much the punishments of the giants but rather of human malefactors: the bad man fears the doom which has overtaken other bad men. Haupt therefore accepted Lobeck's conjecture *nocentum*, which seems an improvement to the sense but explains neither the blank in N nor the *gigantum* of O. If the scruple suggested above be thought sufficient cause for deserting O, I would rather propose *reorum*: let this be corrupted to *deorum* and the scribes will have before them the manifestly absurd phrase 'iura *deum* et tormenta *deorum*': small wonder that one of them should omit the last word and the other should substitute the antithetic name *gigantum*. The expression 'tormenta reorum' is employed in the same connexion at Ovid Ibis 187.

III vii 25, 26.

reddite corpus humo, posita*que* in gurgite uita
  Paetum sponte tua, uilis harena, tegas.

So O: 'posita *est* in gurgite uita' N, which is rather abrupt and perhaps less pleasing.

* III xii 1—4.

Postume, plorantem potuisti linquere Gallam
  miles et Augusti fortia signa sequi?
tantine ulla fuit spoliati gloria Parthi,
  ne *facias*, Galla multa rogante tua?

facias O, *faceres* Nfv: either is defensible, according as we take *potuisti* and *fuit* to be true perfects or past aorists.

III xiii 51—54.

> torrida sacrilegum testantur limina Brennum,
> dum petit intonsi Pythia regna dei.
> at *mons* laurigero concussus uertice *diras*
> Gallica Parnasus spargit in arma niues.

mons...diras Nv, *mox...duras* O. *diras* of course is right: of *mons* and *mox* I incline to the latter as more significant.

III xvi 7.

> at si *haec distulero* nostro mandata timore.

So O, *distulero haec* N: either elision is admissible, and a modern ear is incapable of judging which an ancient would prefer.

III xxiv 28.

> tu bene conueniens non sinis *esse* iugum.

esse O, *ire* Nv. If *esse* is right, 'iugum' will mean the yoke; if *ire*, the yoke-fellows. I see nothing to choose.

IV i 73, 74.

> accersis lacrimas cantans: *auersus* Apollo:
> poscis ab inuita uerba pigenda lyra.

auersus Nv, *adversus* O: the two words come to the same thing, though perhaps *aversus* harmonises better with 'inuita'.

IV iv 57, 58.

> si minus, at raptae *non* sint impune Sabinae:
> me rape, et alterna lege repende uices.

So O: N has *ne*: 'at, raptae *ne* sint impune Sabinae, me rape' is smoother than the other reading; yet it may be said that the somewhat rare and poetical use of *non* in prohibition (cf. Ovid ars III 133) is less likely to have come from a scribe.

IV vii 19, 20.

> saepe Venus triuio commissa est: pectore mixto
> fecerunt tepidas *pectora* nostra uias.

pectora O, which cannot be right after 'pectore' and may have come thence: *pallia* Nv (*palia* t) which may be a mere conjecture and if so is a most miserable one. Mr Rossberg building on *pectora* proposes *corpora* which is often confused with that word and may be true. On *pallia* is based the conjecture *proelia* mentioned by Mr Luetjohann, which perhaps is no less probable; for the objection that the word is inappropriate to a stealthy encounter does not seem very heavy, and it is worth noting that in [Tib.] IV 3 3 where the best MS gives *praelia* the others have *pectore*.

THE DESCENDANTS OF O.

§ 11. *DV better than AF.*

I shall now examine the respective value of the families AF and DV as witnesses to the reading of their common parent O. In the cases about to be considered N exhibits the presence of no element independent of O but agrees with one or other of the two families AF and DV or with one or more of those four MSS: oftenest with AF or, where A is wanting, with F, but frequently also with DV against F or AF. The nature and significance of its vacillation will appear in the course of the enquiry; but the chief aim proposed in this part of my treatise is to shew that the families AF and DV are practically equal in value, and that if we would discover the reading of O we can dispense with neither.

And first I will take the places in which DV shew themselves superior to AF. We shall find, as I said, that N agrees more often with AF than with DV; and in every case where this happens, and DV are right, one more instance is added to those already collected in which O is superior to N.

In maintaining the value of DV I am at one with Baehrens, with Mr Solbisky, and probably with all post-Baehrensian critics but Mr Leo.

I ii 26: uni si qua placet, *culta* puella sat est: *culta* DVN, *una* AF: *c* was absorbed by *t*, leaving *ulta*.

I ii 29. unica nec desit iucundis gratia *dictis*.

dictis DV, *uerbis* AFN. The superior vigour of *dictis* is evident;

and the question is settled by Ovid's imitation met. XIII 127 'neque abest facundis gratia dictis'.

I iv 9, 10: nedum, si leuibus *fuerit* collata figuris, | inferior duro iudice turpis *eat*: *fuerit...eat* DVN, *fuerat...erat* AF. I viii 1: tunc igitur demens, nec te mea *cura* moratur? *cura* DVN, *culpa* AF.

I viii 7, 8.

> tu pedibus teneris positas fulcire *pruinas*,
> tu potes insolitas, Cynthia, ferre niues?

pruinas DV, *ruinas* AFN. Because Lucretius has 'ruina grandinis', Virgil and Silius 'caeli ruina', and Valerius Flaccus 'ruina poli', Scaliger should not have inferred that 'positas ruinas' without any such genitive can mean fallen snow; and so Gronovius observes. The corruption is due to 'fulcire': see Luc. VIII 528 'potes Magni *fulcire ruinam*.'

I viii 17—20.

> sed, quocumque modo de me, periura, mereris,
> sit Galatea tuae non aliena uiae;
> *ut te*, felici praeuecta Ceraunia remo,
> accipiat placidis Oricos aequoribus.

So read AFN, and thereby confer on the past participle 'praeuecta' the absolutely solecistic sense 'O thou who art about to sail by'. Some would escape this solecism by means of another, and take the vocative 'praeuecta' as an accusative 'praeuectam', a device which Mr Vahlen, 'ueber zwei Elegien des Propertius' Berlin 1882, p. 9, seeks to defend by a collection of passages partly misunderstood and all irrelevant. These I pass by: the nearest parallel I myself can find, and it is quite inadequate, is Luc. V 231 'secreta tenebis | litoris Euboici memorando *condite* busto', an incorrect expression into which the poet has been betrayed by the common practice of employing, for metrical convenience, vocative instead of nominative in such apostrophes as Stat. Theb. IV 620 sq. 'funera belli | pande uel *infensus* vel res *miserate* tuorum': a practice so common that the distinction between the two cases is at length obliterated, and 'tenebis condite', which strictly interpreted is nonsense, since the person addressed is not yet buried nor dead, comes to be exactly the same as 'tenebis conditus'. But there exists no practice of substituting vocative for *accusative* which should lure Propertius into writing 'te, praeuecta, accipiat' for 'te praeuectam accipiat': hence all the best critics of the author have held this verse to be corrupt and essayed to amend it; and amongst them Eldick at the end of the last century proposed *utere* for *ut te:* 'praeuecta' then becomes nominative and at the same time Latin: for 'utere remo' compare Ovid trist. I 1 91 'remis utaris', ex Pont. II 6 37 'remo tamen utor in aura'. We now learn that *utere* is the reading of D and evidently was the reading also of V which at present has *ut te* with the second *t* in an erasure and with another erasure between the two words; and since Baehrens' publication of this fact in 1880 the new reading is well on its way towards acceptance. The omission of 'te' in the next verse, whether we like it or no, is quite Propertian: Mr Solbisky compares I vi 22 'nam tua non aetas umquam cessauit amori, | semper at armatae cura fuit patriae' sc. tibi.

I viii 27. hic *erit,* hic iurata manet: rumpantur iniqui.

erit DV, *erat* AFN. Mr Palmer alone reads *erat,* which, he says, means 'she was here all the while'. It does; but that is why all other critics reject it.

I xi 15. ut solet *amoto* labi custode puella.

amoto DV, *amota* AFN. The latter, accepted by Haupt and Palmer, is shewn by the context to be unsuitable: 'custos' means here a jealous lover like the poet himself.

I xii 10: lecta Prometheis *diuidit* herba iugis: *diuidit* DVN, *diuitis* AF. I xiii 5: dum tibi deceptis augetur *fama* puellis: *fama* DVN, *forma* AF. I xiii 7, 8: *perditus* in quadam tardis pallescere curis | incipis: *perditus* DVN, *queritis* AF. I xiii 16: et flere *iniectis,* Galle, diu manibus: *iniectis* DV, *inlectis* N, *in lectis* AF. I xvi 18: quid mihi *tam* duris clausa taces foribus? *tam* DV, *iam* AFN. I xix 10: *Thessalis* antiquam uenerat umbra domum: *Thessalis* DV, *Thessalus* AFN.

I xx 11. nympharum *cupidas semper* defende rapinas. *cupidas semper* DV, *semper cupidas* AFN. Propertius prefers that order which places the substantive in one half of the hexameter and its adjective in the other.

I xx 13, 14: ne tibi sit, durum, montes et *frigida* saxa, Galle, neque expertos semper adire lacus: *frigida* DVN, *turbida* AF.

II v 3. haec merui sperare? dabis *mihi*, perfida, poenas. *mihi* DV, *mi* FN. Propertius never uses the latter form except under metrical necessity.

II ix 11, 12.

> et dominum lauit maerens captiua cruentum
> *appositum* flauis in Simoenta uadis.

appositum DV, *propositum* FN. Briseis is laving the dead body of Achilles. Before we judge between the two readings we must remove a difficulty common to both. For 'in Simoenta' Passeratius refers us to the phrase 'in possessionem esse', and he might add III ix 6 'in partes...fuisse tuas'; but this Roman vulgarism is confined to native inflexions, and its extension to Greek forms is a thing unheard of. Guietus therefore proposed 'apposito...Simoente' and Paley 'ad Simoenta': it suffices to write 'Simoente' without further change, leaving the accusative participle, the cause of the error, to agree with 'dominum'. Now with *appositum* the construction will be 'dominum flauis uadis appositum lauit in Simoente', which seems irreproachable sense. But *propositum* has no fit meaning and apparently has never found any partisans but Perreius and Mr Palmer, the latter of whom adduces the damaging citation Ovid trist. III 9 29, where we read how Medea *exposed* on a rock the mangled limbs of Absyrtus. The corruption is easy to explain: the initial *a* was torn away with the margin or left blank for the rubricator, and *ppositum* was then mistaken for *ꝓpositum*.

II x 21, 22: ut caput in magnis ubi non est tangere signis | ponitur *hic* imos ante corona pedes: *hic* DV, *hac* FN.

II xi 1, 2: scribant de te alii, ne sis ignota, licebit; | *laudet,* qui sterili semina ponit humo: *laudet* DV, *ludet* FN. II xiii 24: plebei paruae funeris *exequiae*: *exequiae* DV, *obsequiae* FN; but in N the mistake is corrected by the same hand which made it. II xv 8: sicine, *lente,* iaces? *lente* DV, *lecte* FN.

II xvi 11, 12.

> Cynthia non sequitur fasces nec curat honores:
> semper amatorum ponderat *illa* sinus.

illa DV, *una* FN. These words are both of them easily confounded with *ulla* and therefore with one another: all we have to consider in choosing is the sense; and the sense of *illa* is not and cannot be impugned. But *una* is in the worshipped Neapolitanus; and it is accordingly accepted both by Mr Palmer, though he appears to apprehend correctly its irrelevant meaning ('Cynthia is not lured by the pomp of office: it is the purse of her lovers that she always weighs *with unrivalled accuracy*'), and by Mr Vahlen, who, justly intolerant of this, chooses, rather than take the faultless *illa,* to construe *una* as acc. plur. masc. agreeing with 'sinus' (Monatsbericht der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, 7 April 1881, pp. 342 sqq.).

II xxiii 1, 2.

> cui fuit indocti *fugienda* semita uulgi,
> ipsa petita lacu nunc mihi dulcis aqua est.

fugienda DV, *fugienda et* FN. '*et* uerum est' writes Mr Palmer; '*etiam* semitam qua utebatur uulgus Propertius dicit sibi fugiendam fuisse': i.e. Propertius says 'I, who formerly held that amours *even* with low women (much more then with ladies) were to be shunned, now find pleasure in amours with the lowest'. Because this is incoherent in itself and subverts the argument of the poem, in which Propertius explains why, having formerly consorted with ladies, he now consorts with low women instead, other editors alter *et* to *haec;* but it cannot be denied that the pronoun would be better away, and with DV before us it seems impossible to doubt that *et* is merely a metrical stopgap. Baehrens therefore proposes the transposition and alteration 'cui fuerit fugienda indocti semita'; but if we transpose the words aright no further change is needed:

> cui fugienda fuit indocti semita uulgi.

For 'fuĭt' see IV i 17 'nulli cura fuit externos quaerere diuos'.

II xxiv 45, 46.

> iam tibi Iasonia uecta est Medea carina
> et modo *ab infido* sola relicta uiro.

uecta in the hexameter is Heinsius' slight and necessary correction of *nota*. In the pentameter DV have *ab infido*, F omits these words, N gives *seruato* in their stead. As to sense there is little to choose; though inasmuch as this poem deals with the fickleness of men, not their ingratitude, the balance inclines a trifle to *ab infido*. For when Messrs Leo and Solbisky assert on the other side that 'modo' has no sense without *seruato*, they err: in the sentence 'iam tibi (tibi = 'look you' as in Lucr. V 805 etc.) uecta est et modo relicta', 'iam' and 'modo' answer one another, as 'nunc' and 'modo' perpetually do, in the sense of 'modo...modo'. But what must settle the question in favour of *ab infido* for any impartial judge are palaeographical considerations. It is quite clear, as Baehrens prolegg. p. XII pointed out, that the scribe of the parent codex of the one family glanced from the *do* of *modo* to the *do* of *infido* and so left a metrical gap which F honestly preserves and which N fills up with the conjecture *seruato*. When therefore Mr Solbisky p. 168 declares that '*ab infido* temera est coniectura' his assertion is as irrational as his language is solecistic. This passage, be it observed, is a very striking addition to our proofs of O's superiority over N.

II xxvii 13, 14.

> iam licet et Stygia sedeat sub harundine remex
> *cernat* et infernae tristia uela ratis.

So FN. But though it would be appropriate enough to say of a ghost approaching the banks of Styx that he 'descries' the sail of the ferry-boat, the word is absurd when used of one who is seated oar in hand in that very vessel. DV have *seruat*:

the confusion is easy and recurs for instance at Ovid trist. IV 2 14. Now of two unsatisfactory readings that one is likely to be nearer truth which is the more obviously unsatisfactory; and from *seruat*, which is not even grammatical, Broukhusius elicits *soluat*: for *o* confused with *e* as well as *l* with *r* compare I xvi 23 p*l*ena for p*r*ona; and see IV xi 69 sq. 'mihi cumba uolenti | soluitur'.

II xxviii 29, 30.

> et tibi Maeonias *inter heroidas omnis*
> primus erit nullo non tribuente locus.

Thus FN, but the lengthening of *-er* is unexampled in Propertius. DV give *omnis herodias inter*: this order of the words is confirmed as Baehrens says by Ovid trist. I 6 33 'prima locum sanctas *heroidas inter* haberes'.

II xxxii 7, 8: hoc utinam spatiere loco, quodcumque uacabis, | Cynthia; sed *tibi me* credere turba uetat: *tibi me* DV, *time* N, *timeo* F.

II xxxiv 11, 12.

> quid si non constans illa et tam certa fuisset?
> *posses in* tanto uiuere flagitio?

posses in N, *posset et in* F, *posses et in* DV. The vulgate *posses in* is well enough in itself but affords no scientific explanation of the other readings: *posses in* and *posset et in* appear to be alternative corrections of the unmetrical *posses et in*. But we shall prefer the correction of a competent scholar, Heinsius' '*posses tun* tanto uiuere flagitio': 'tu' in opposition to 'illa' adds much force to the sentence, and indeed would in a prose writer be necessary.

III ii 5, 6: saxa *Cithaeronis* Phoebeam agitata per artem | sponte sua *in muri* membra coisse ferunt: *citeronis* DV, *ciceronis* FN: *in muri* DV, *īmineri* F, *in numeri* N.

III v 23, 24.

> ubi iam Venerem grauis interceperit aetas
> *sparserit et nigras* alba senecta comas.

sparserit integras DV, inverting the order of the letters *etni*;

sparsit et integras F, a further error; *sparserit et integras* N, a conflation of the two erroneous readings. Therefore when Mr Leo enquires, p. 446, 'tu uero ubi pristinam scripturam fidelius seruatam credis, in DV qui *sparserit integras*, an in F qui *sparsit et integras*, an in N qui praebet *sparserit et integras*?' we shall return him without hesitation the unexpected answer: 'in DV'.

III v 35. (Solbisky p. 190.)

> cur serus uersare boues et *plaustra Bootes.*

plaustra bootes DV; *flamma palustra* F, which two words are both corruptions of *plaustra*, the latter by the transposition of a letter, the former through the likeness of *p* to *f* and of *st* to *n* and of *flaunra* to *flamma*; *flamma boon* N. Everyone accepted the reading of DV until Baehrens in his edition exalted those MSS above N, after which it became necessary for Mr Leo to conjecture, p. 447, 'cur serus uersare Bootes flammea plostra'; and this conjecture after all is based not on that N which Mr Leo is concerned to defend, but on that F of which he says, on the very same page, that it 'omnino nihil ualet'.

III xi 51: fugisti tamen in timidi *uaga* flumina Nili: *uaga* DV, *uada* FN. III xiii 32: aut uariam plumae *uersicoloris* auem: *uersicoloris* DV, *uiricoloris* FN. III xiii 53: mons *laurigero* concussus uertice: *laurigero* DV, *aurigero* FN.

III xiv 11—14.

> gyrum pulsat equis, niueum latus ense reuincit
>   uirgineumque cauo protegit aere caput,
> qualis Amazonidum nudatis bellica mammis
>   Thermodontiacis turba *lauantur* aquis.

lauantur DV, *lauatur* FN: the plural, as Baehrens remarks, being equally correct (III xvii 28 '*potant* Naxia turba merum') is to be preferred as less obvious than the singular. Since much trouble has been caused here by the neglect of a common idiom it may be well to add that 'protegit caput qualis Amazonidum turba lauantur' (or 'lauatur') does not in the least imply that the Amazons wear helmets while bathing. It merely means that the Spartan girl wears a helmet as the Amazons do; and it occurs to the poet to mention by the way that the Amazons bathe in Thermodon. 'quales Amazonides lauantur' = 'quales sunt Amazonides, quae lauantur': compare Verg. Aen. III 641 sqq. 'nam qualis quantusque cauo Polyphemus in antro | lanigeras claudit pecudes atque ubera pressat, | centum alii curua haec habitant ad litora uolgo | infandi Cyclopes et altis montibus errant.'

III xv 14: molliaque *immites* fixit in ora manus: *immites* D, *ī mites* V, *immittens* F, *inmittens* N. III xv 27: saepe uago *Asopi* sonitu permota fluentis: *asopi* DV, *esopi* F, *ęsopi* N.

III xx 6. forsitan ille alio pectus amore *terit.*

terit DV, *terat* FN. As I said above[1] on III xxiii 11, the MSS of Propertius are twice agreed on the indic. with 'forsitan', twice divided between indic. and subj.: the indic. then should be preferred.

III xxii 23—26.

> hic Anio Tiburne fluis, Clitumnus ab Vmbro
> tramite, et aeternum Marcius umor opus,
> Albanus lacus et *socii* Nemorensis ab unda
> potaque Pollucis lympha salubris equo.

So N, unintelligibly. Francius therefore read *socia*; Scaliger retaining *socii* altered *Albanus lacus et* to *Albanusque lacus*; but these emendations rest on the fiction that those two lakes have a common fount, and that fiction in its turn rests on these emendations. Therefore Hertzberg emends Scaliger's emendation by further altering *ab* to *et*; but 'Albanusque lacus, socii Nemorensis et unda' is now a great way from the MSS. In place of *socii* F has *sotii* and DV have the very noticeable variant *sotiis* which bears every sign of originality: a scribe who took 'Nemorensis' for gen. might alter *sotiis* to *sotii*, but there was nothing to prompt the converse change. *sotiis*, by the very common exchange of *f* for *s* and *l* for *t* (both mistakes occur together at II vii 2 *stemus* for *flemus*), stands for *foliis*: Propertius wrote

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[1] pp. 158 sqq.

Albanus lacus et *foliis* Nemorensis *abundans,*

and the two last letters were lost through injury to the margin. The lake of Aricia 'silua praecinctus opaca' (Ovid fast. III 263) was called 'Nemorensis' after the grove of Diana known κατ' ἐξοχήν as 'Nemus' (Prop. II xxxii 10) which stood on its banks.

III xxiv 9, 10: quod mihi non patrii poterant auertere amici | *eluere* aut uasto Thessala saga mari: *eluere* DV, *fluere* FN. IV iii 1: *haec* Arethusa suo mittit mandata Lycotae: *haec* given by DV, omitted by FN. IV iv 32: et *formosa* oculis arma Sabina meis: *formosa* DV, *famosa* FN.

IV iv 71, 72.

illa ruit, qualis celerem prope Thermodonta
Strymonis *abscisso* fertur aperta sinu.

abscisso DV, *absciso* FN. To begin with, the pentameter as Lachmann says is neither Greek nor Latin until we supply 'aperta' with an acc. respectus by writing either with Broukhusius *abscissos* (or *abscisos*)...*sinus*, or else *pectus* for *fertur* with Hertzberg. In favour of the latter Hertzberg cites Ovid fast. I 408 'dissuto *pectus aperta sinu*', to which I will add epist. Sapph. 122 'lacero *pectus aperta sinu*', Tib. I 6 18 'laxo *pectus aperta sinu*', Ovid met. XIII 688 '*apertae pectora* matres', Stat. silu. V 5 13 '*aperto pectore* matres'. Now for the question between *abscisso* and *absciso*. The latter is supposed to signify that mutilation from which the Amazons were thought to derive their name, and it may be dismissed at once: *sinus* is not *mamma*, and 'abscidere sinum' is a thing impossible. *abscisso sinu* will of course refer to the torn folds of the dress over the bosom, and may be supported by Ovid fast. IV 448 'ipsa suos *absciderat*que *sinus*' and Prop. III viii 8 'fac mea *rescisso pectora nuda sinu*'.

IV vi 75. ingenium *potis* irritat Musa poetis.

potis DV, *positis* FN. The former is obviously right: the next verse is 'Bacche, soles Phoebo fertilis esse tuo'.

IV vii 7. eosdem habuit secum, quibus est elata, *capillos.* *capillos* DV, *capillis* FN. Either is correct, but *capillos* best accords with the poet's custom of placing a substantive in one half of the verse with its adjective in the other; and moreover the change of *capillos* to *capillis* through the neighbourhood of *quibus* is easier explained than the converse error.

IV viii 38. et Methymnaei *Graeca* saliua meri.

greca FN, *grata* DV. Propertius never uses the form 'Graecus', and Roman poets in general prefer 'Graius'; most editors therefore accept the *Graia* which Palmerius built on *grata.* But since neither *Graia* nor *Graeca* conveys anything which is not already conveyed in 'Methymnaei' it may well be that *grata* itself is the true reading, = 'iucunda': see Mart. XIII 21 'spina...non erit...*gratior* asparagis' and especially Plin. h. n. XIV 1 3 § 16 'aliis (uuis) *gratiam*, qui et *uinis*, affert fumus fabrilis' and ib. XXIII 1 22 § 40, quoted by Passeratius, 'sua cuique *uino saliua* innocentissima, sua cuique aetas *gratissima*'.

IV viii 71, 72.

supplicibus palmis tum demum ad foedera ueni,
cui uix tangendos praebuit illa pedes.

cui DV, *cur* F, *cum* N. *cui,* as less obvious, is to be preferred to *cum,* which seems due to the 'tum' above.

IV viii 85. imperat et totas iterum mutare *lacernas.* *lacernas* DV, *laternas* F, *lucernas* N. This is perhaps a case where DV are superior, not to the family AF, but merely to the extant representatives of that family: it is possible that A, if it were here present, would stand halfway between F and N and give, like DV, the true reading.

IV ix 40. et numquam ad *uacuas* irrita tela feras.

uacuas DV, *natas* F, *uatas* N, all three utterly impossible. The Italians proposed *uastas* which has some support in II xix 21 '*uastos* ausim temptare leones'; but Santen's *nocuas* appears to be the best correction: this word courted corruption by its rarity and was perilously like *uocuas,* which form the scribes would alter as usual to *uacuas*: the likeness of *c* to *t* accounts for the further errors. I suspect that this adjective should again be restored to Propertius at III vii 60 by writing 'attulimus NOCVAS in freta uestra manus?' which was corrupted I imagine to NOGLAS and thence by transposition of letters to LONGAS.

IV x 17. urbis *uirtutum*que parens sic uincere sueuit.

uirtutum DV, *uirtutem* F, *uirtutis* N. The unusual plural is not likely to be a correction yet is perfectly correct: Baehrens compares Cat. 68 90 'Troia, uirum et uirtutum omnium acerba cinis': see too Verg. Aen. I 566 'uirtutesque uirosque'.

IV xi 7, 8.

uota mouent superos: ubi portitor aera recepit
obserat *umbrosos* lurida porta rogos.

umbrosos DV, *erbosos* F, *herbosos* N. If *herbosos* stood in all the MSS, it would not surprise one to find it defended as 'Propertian', i.e. absurd. But here the MSS are divided; and it is not yet a recognised canon, even in the criticism of this author, that 'commodae lectioni praestat inepta'. 'rogus' has no known meaning but a funeral pile, and funeral piles are not grassy. Grant, though the evidence produced is worthless, that it could mean 'Orcus' or 'manes': these are not grassy either. *umbrosos* on the other hand is applicable to *rogos* alike in the known meaning of that substantive and in the unknown meaning 'Orcus' or 'manes' which the context here requires. The context I say requires it; for if we grant, again on no evidence, that 'rogus' could mean a grave and could so be called grassy, we are in no way helped, since grassy graves are not shut in by the gate of hell. And in fact *herbosos* is inapplicable to any substantive of which 'obserat lurida porta' can be said: the superiority of *umbrosos* is therefore assured, whether we retain *rogos* in its unexampled meaning, or alter it with Markland to *locos*, an easy change recurring for instance at Sen. Oed. 61, Herc. fur. 508, 512. The confusion of *umbra* with *herba* is found elsewhere, as at IV viii 35.

§ 12. *DV better than AF: spelling.*

The following are passages where DV excel the other family by giving the true spelling, or the better spelling of two, or the less known of two good spellings.

II vii 4, xvi 16, 48, xxii 25, xxvi 42, xxviii 1, xxxiii 14, III ix 15, xi 28, IV i 54, 82, iv 85, vi 14 and x 15, *Iuppiter* DV, *Iupiter* FN.

II xvi 24, xx 9, xxii 15, III vii 69, xiv 9, xxi 24, IV iii 12, iv 67, *bracchia* DV, *brachia* FN; II i 70 *bracchia* D, V doubtful, *brachia* N, *brachide* F.

I xviii 29 *querellae* DV, *querelae* AFN.

II xix 22 *comminus* DV, *cominus* FN.

IV ii 21 *opportuna* DV, *oportuna* FN.

I iv 21 *omnis* (acc. plur.) DV, *om̄s* F, *omnes* AN; xiii 25 and II i 57 *omnis* DV, *omnes* AFN; I x 7 *labentis* DV, *labentes* AFN; II xv 51 *arentis* DV, *arentes* FN.

I xx 45 *quoius* DV, *cuius* AFN; II xxiv 3 *quoi* DV, *cui* FN. In III viii 29 where FN have *cum* DV have *quo* pointing to *quom*. In II vi 26, a verse which ought I believe to be written 'si *quoiuis* nuptae *quoilibet* esse licet' though some prefer *quidlibet*, the MSS vary thus: *cuiuis* N, *cuius* F, *quoius* D, *quouis* V; *quoilibet* DV, *cuilibet* F, *quidlibet* N.[1]

III iii 33 *diuorsae* (i.e. *diuorse*) DV, *diuerse* F, *diuersae* N.

II xxvii 12 *nec hic* DV, *neque hic* FN: the former is likelier to be true, as less approved by the vulgar.

II iii 5 and IV viii 76 *harena* DV, *arena* FN; IV vi 83 *harenas* DV, *arenas* FN.

II xxii 23 *percontere* DV, *percuntare* F, *percunctere* N.

II xiv 16 *condicio* DV, *conditio* F, *condito* N.

I iv 23 *contemnet* DV, *contempnet* AFN; vii 25 *contemnas* DV, *contempnas* AFN; II v 29 *contemnas* DV, *contempnas* FN. Baehrens prolegg. p. XI states that he has not recorded all the places where this verb is rightly spelt in DV and wrongly in FN, or where DV have *somnus* and FN *sompnus*. He also says that DV generally give *proelia* and FN *praelia*.

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[1] In the latter half of the 15th century it became a common affectation with Italian scribes to use the archaic forms; but the parent codex of DV was probably earlier than 1400 and certainly not much later, so that its witness in the matter can safely be taken as sincere.

§ 13. *AF better than DV.*

Pursuing our investigation into the relative value of the families AF and DV as witnesses to the reading of O we shall now set out in their turn the principal passages where AF shew themselves superior to DV. I must preface the list with a word of explanation. The codex A, our best representative of its family, contains only the first book and the first 63 verses of the second: for the rest of the elegies our knowledge of the family is derived only from F and from N. Now N, as we have seen and shall see, contains much which comes from other sources than the family AF; and F, whose scribe was a most ignorant man, is defaced by a hundred blunders which were not in the exemplar whence it was copied. But where F and N agree, there we have the reading of the family AF. And again, where F, even standing alone, gives the true reading, there too must we suppose that reading to be the reading of the family; for the scribe of F, it is abundantly plain, was quite incapable of conjectural emendation: F's false readings may be its own, but its true readings must be those of its exemplar.

In upholding the importance of the family AF and placing it on a level with DV I am in particular controverting Mr Solbisky.

I iii 27—29.

> et quotiens raro duxit suspiria motu
>   obstipui uano credulus auspicio,
> ne qua *tibi* insolitos portarent uisa timores.

tibi AFN, *sibi* DV, a solecistic attempt to escape the change from third person to second in 'duxit...tibi'. The true emendation was later found in *ducti*.

I iii 43, 44.

> interdum *leuiter* mecum deserta *querebar*
> externo longas saepe in amore uias.

leuiter...querebar AFN, *grauiter...loquebar* DV. *querebar* is clearly right: between the adverbs the choice is harder, but perhaps the editors do well in preferring *leuiter* the less obvious. Mr Solbisky taking the other side reminds us of Cynthia's violent temper and asks 'nonne igitur absurdum fere est, si Propertio, quippe cui irascatur, dicit se leuiter tantum questam esse?' I should reply, no, not absurd that she should *say* so: to *represent* herself as meekly enduring his neglect is an effective artifice enough. Mr Solbisky further argues that the *loquebar* of DV comes from a misunderstood *le* written over *grauiter* in the archetype. If this were so it would say nothing for *grauiter*, since the *le* might well have been a true correction due to renewed examination of the exemplar; but the fact is that the confusion of *queror* and *loquor*, which we shall meet again at I viii 22, is too common to serve as a ground for his suspicion.

I iv 15, 16: quo magis et nostros contendis soluere amores | hoc magis accepta *fallit uterque* fide: *fallit uterque* AFN, *fallis utrumque* DV.

I vi 15—18.

> ut mihi deducta faciat conuicia puppi
> Cynthia, et insanis ora notet manibus,
> osculaque opposito dicat sibi *debita* uento,
> et nihil infido durius esse uiro.

debita AFN, *dedita* DV. All modern editors rightly read *debita*; but since they explain the verse in various and as I think impossible ways I ought to say how I understand it. I take 'opposito...uento' (or rather 'ponto' with Fonteine) as abl. abs. like 'deducta...puppi' in the preceding hexameter, and understand Cynthia to be represented as crying to Propertius 'my kisses bring again!' when now his ship has left the shore and the wind (or sea) forbids return.

I vi 25. me sine, quem *semper uoluit* Fortuna iacere.

semper uoluit AFN, *uoluit semper* DV. 'semper' belongs to 'iacere' and therefore in accordance with the metrical principles of Propertius should stand in the first half of the verse to balance 'iacere' at the end.

I vi 32: Lydia Pactoli *tingit* arata liquor: *tingit* N, *tinguit* AF, *cingit* DV. I viii 22: quin ego, uita, tuo limine uerba *querar*: *querar* AFN, *loquar* DV.

I viii 25, 26.

> et dicam, licet Atraciis considat in oris
> et licet *Hyleis*, illa futura mea est.

Hyleis AF, *Hileis* N, *Ellaeis* DV. Cynthia was starting for Illyria, so it has been usual to write *Hylleis*, the name of an Illyrian tribe. Then arises the difficulty that *Atraciis* now must also signify some part of Illyria, only it does not: therefore it is usually altered to *Autariciis*. But another sense in no way inferior to this is procured by retaining *Hyleis*, i.e. *Hylaeis*, and merely transposing one letter of *Atraciis*. Hylaea was a land beyond Scythia, Herod. IV 9, 54, 55, 76: if then we introduce the name of another very distant country we shall have the sense 'though she sail to the ends of the earth she shall be mine': Mr Palmer accordingly in the hexameter restores *Artaciis*, referring to Apoll. Rhod. Arg. I 954 sqq., Orph. Arg. 496.

I xiii 6: certus et in nullo quaeris amore *moram*: *moram* AFN, *uiam* DV from *m̄am*.

I xix 7—10.

> illic Phylacides iucundae coniugis heros
> non potuit caecis inmemor esse locis,
> sed cupidus falsis attingere gaudia palmis
> Thessalis antiquam *uenerat* umbra domum.

uenerat AN, F has not the verse, *uerberat* DV. *uenerat*, pluperfect with past aorist sense as often in Propertius, is faultless: *uerberat* is soon explained as an attempt to correct the easy mistake *ueberat*: there is no cause or defence then for

Baehrens' suspicion *peruolat*, or for Mr Rossberg's surprising *uerterat*.

I xix 13, 14.

illic formosae *ueniant* chorus heroinae
  quas dedit Argiuis Dardana praeda uiris.

ueniant AFN, *ueniat* DV misled by 'chorus'. The verse however requires emendation. It is not Latin to say 'formosae heroinae, chorus': chorus caterua turba manus and similar words are not placed in apposition without an adjective in agreement; and *formosae* must be changed to *formosus*.

I xx 51: his, o Galle, tuos *monitus* seruabis amores: *monitus* AFN, *monitis* DV.

I xxi 6—10.

haec soror acta tuis sentiat e lacrimis,
Gallum per medios ereptum Caesaris enses
  effugere ignotas non potuisse manus;
et, *quaecumque* super dispersa inuenerit ossa
  montibus Etruscis, haec sciat esse mea.

quaecumque AFN, *quicumque* DV. These lines are a message from the dying Gallus to his sister, so *quicumque* is clearly wrong: Gallus has no concern with 'whosoever finds bones on the Etrurian mountains'. *quaecumque* is accepted I think by everyone but Mr Postgate, whose objections to it rest on a not unnatural misconception which I will try to remove. *quaecumque* and *haec* are not relative and antecedent. *haec* is purely demonstrative and means 'these bones here': the antecedent to *quaecumque* is suppressed, and 'quaecumque inuenerit' is equivalent to 'licet sescenta alia inuenerit' or the like. There is a similarly deceptive collocation of the two words in Lucr. I 670 sq. 'nam *quodcumque* suis mutatum finibus exit, | continuo *hoc* mors est illius quod fuit ante', where *hoc* refers not to *quodcumque* but to the notion of that clause, τὸ *exire*.

II iii 23, 24.

num tibi nascenti primis, mea uita, diebus
  candidus argutum *sternuit* omen Amor?

num F, *non* N, *nunc* DV. *candidus...sternuit* is preserved by Macrobius GLK v p. 626 15; FN have *ardidus...sternuit*, the initial *c* having been lost and *n* altered to *r*; DV corrupt this to *aridus...stertuit.*

II vi 1, 2.

> non ita complebant Ephyreae Laidos aedes,
> ad cuius iacuit Graecia tota *fores.*

fores FN, *pedes* DV. The latter is satisfactory and has been supported by Ovid her. III 84 'et iacet ante tuos Graecia maesta pedes'. But *fores* the more exquisite reading is plainly the original and *pedes* the interpolation; and to settle the question Passeratius quotes Anth. Gr. VI 1 1 sq. *ἡ τὸν ἐραστῶν | ἑσμὸν ἐνὶ προθύροις Λαῒς ἔχουσα νέων.*

II vii 7, 8.

> nam citius paterer caput hoc discedere collo
> quam possem nuptae perdere *more* faces.

more FN, *amore* DV. *amore* is the vulgate, but for external reasons it is the less probable reading, since it may come from the 'nil in *amore* ualent' of v. 6. And its meaning too is unsatisfactory: the event here contemplated is the enforced and unwilling marriage of Propertius, whose heart is given to Cynthia, with some other woman; not at all the transference of his affections. *more*, preferred by Baehrens and Postgate, makes good sense: 'to relinquish my passion for you in obedience to the will of a bride': Ter. And. 152 (Pamphilus is supposed to speak of the coming time when he must marry) 'prope adest, quom *alieno more* uiuendumst mihi: | sine nunc *meo* me uiuere interea *modo*'.

II ix 17. (Solbisky p. 150.)

> tunc igitur *castis* gaudebat Graecia natis.

castis DV, *uiris* FN. Baehrens' correction of the irrelevant *natis* to *nuptis* is accepted even by Mr Vahlen. The question of the adjective is soon settled: *uiris*, as the Italians saw, is a corruption of *ueris*, and *castis* is a gloss explaining the peculiar signification, which *ueris* here has, of faithfulness in love: see

II xxix 34 'uel tu uel si quis *uerior* esse potest'. Thus the discrepancy has a solution: none, if *castis* be preferred with Baehrens.

II x 11, 12. (Solbisky p. 159.)

> surge, anima, ex humili iam *carmine;* sumite uires,
> Pierides; magni nunc erit oris opus.

carmine DVN: some editors retaining the same reading punctuate 'ex humili; iam carmine sumite uires, | Pierides'. But F gives *carmina*, which in itself has an air of genuineness, since its corruption to *carmine* through the neighbourhood of 'humili' is likelier than the contrary change; and it renders the verses more symmetrical when they are punctuated thus:

> surge, anima, ex humili; iam, *carmina*, sumite uires;
> Pierides, magni nunc erit oris opus.

Three vocatives and three exhortations. This is the reading of Burmann Lachmann Baehrens and Palmer, and it is accepted by F's worst enemy Mr Solbisky.

II xi 1—4.

> scribant de te alii, *uel* sis ignota, licebit;
> laudet, qui sterili semina ponit humo:
> omnia, crede mihi, tecum uno munera lecto
> auferet extremi funeris atra dies.

uel DVN, *ne* F, which I with Baehrens prefer. The choice perhaps is a subtle matter, but I will try to make it plain as follows. The reading of F means 'scribant de te alii, laudet alius'; that of DVN means 'scribant de te alii *uel nemo*, laudet alius': it will be felt I think that in the former the pentameter follows more harmoniously. Then consider too the next couplet with its 'omnia...munera...auferet': this does not look as if the contingency 'licebit sis ignota' had been entertained, for there would then be no 'munera' for death to take.

II xii 19: intactos isto *satius* temptare ueneno: *satius* FN, *potius* D, *pocius* V.

II xiii 46. Nestoris est *uisus* post tria saecla cinis.

uisus FN, *iussus* DV. This confusion, which may arise from the spelling *uissus*, is perpetual: *iussus* will not serve to build conjectures on.

II xv 23—26. (Solbisky pp. 159 sq.)

> dum nos fata sinunt, oculos satiemus amore:
> nox tibi longa uenit nec reditura dies.
> atque utinam haerentes sic nos uincire catena
> *uelles*, ut numquam solueret ulla dies.

Let me clear the way for the consideration of this passage by two remarks. First, the occurrence of 'dies' at the end of two consecutive distichs (though I do not myself believe that these two distichs were originally consecutive) is no ground for suspecting the word in either place: see I viii 42—44, II xx 24—26, xxiv 30—32, 36—38, xxxii 24—26, III x 16—18, xxiv 2—4, IV ix 16—18. Secondly, the verses are imitated by or from Sulpicia, Tib. IV 5 15 sq. 'sed potius ualida teneamur uterque catena: | nulla queat posthac nos soluisse dies', a parallel which refutes many of the conjectures put forward. The sole difficulty resides in *uelles*. Two renderings are possible: one makes 'catena' vocative, so that Propertius with extreme absurdity addresses himself to the imaginary 'bond' of love; the other, taking 'catena' as ablative and 'nos' as 'me', supposes Cynthia to be addressed: but a lover's prayer that he may be constant is beyond his mistress' ability to fulfil and can only be granted by superior powers. Now instead of the *uelles* found in DVN, F has *uellet*; and Baehrens accepting this removes all the trouble by altering *ut* to *uti*: for this common error compare, if it is worth while, Ovid rem. 333.

II xv 43. non ferrum crudele *neque esset* bellica nauis.

neque esset FN, *esset neque* DV. The case is clear: DV have softened the masculine rhythm of Propertius, for which see II i 51 'seu mihi sunt tangenda nouercae pocula Phaedrae'.

II xviii 11: *illum* ad uicinos cum amplexa quiesceret Indos: *illum* FN, *illa* DV which comes from v. 13. II xviii 31, 32: si caeruleo quaedam sua tempora *fuco* | tinxerit: *fuco* FN, *succo* DV.

II xix 26. niueos abluit unda *boues.*

boues FN, *pedes* DV from an untimely reminiscence of I xx 8 'tinxerit unda pedes' or IV xi 16 'implicat unda pedes'.

II xx 11. in te ego *et aeratas* rumpam, mea uita, catenas. *et aeratas* FN, *ferratas* DV from 'ferratam' in the next verse.

II xx 21—26.

septima iam plenae deducitur orbita lunae,
  cum de me et de te compita nulla tacent:
interea nobis non *numquam* ianua mollis,
  non *numquam* lecti copia facta tui.
nec mihi muneribus nox ulla est empta beatis:
  quidquid eram, hoc animi gratia magna tui.

numquam F, *umquam* DVN: the context demands the former which is accepted by Lachmann Hertzberg Haupt Mueller and Palmer. Keil however rejects the couplet altogether, for the reason, unintelligible to me, that 'numquam non' is what the sense requires: Baehrens reads *umquam* and having thus rendered the passage incoherent declares that vv. 21—24 are a fragment from some other poem.

II xxii 29, 30: quid? cum e complexu Briseidos iret Achilles, | *num* fugere minus Thessala tela Phryges? *num* F, *non* DVN. II xxiii 10: captus et *inmunda* saepe latere casa: *inmunda* FN, *in nuda* DV. II xxvi 9, 10: *quae* tum ego Neptuno, *quae* tum cum Castore fratri | quaeque tibi excepi, iam dea Leucothoe: *quae* FN, *quem* DV.

II xxvi 53. crede mihi, nobis *mitescet* Scylla.

mitescet FN, *mutescet* DV. Baehrens prefers *mutescet*, to which Mr Solbisky objects that the verb is not found earlier than Appuleius. A heavier objection, it seems to me, may be brought against its sense: if Scylla *mutescet* she will then be even more dangerous than before, since mariners will no longer be warned of her whereabouts.

II xxvii 7.

rursus et obiectum flemus *capiti* esse tumultum.

So DV; a sentence which will mean, as I conceive, 'we lament that we are personally accused of causing broils': assuredly it will never signify what the context requires, 'we lament that our life is jeopardised by broils'. That meaning is obtained by taking the *caput* of FN and altering *tumultum* with Mr Lucian Mueller to *tumultu*[1], a form of the dative which greatly perplexes copyists: then compare Stat. Theb. I 652 'obiecisse caput fatis', Verg. Aen. II 751 'caput obiectare periclis', Sil. III 121 'obiectasque caput telis', Sen. Phoen. 407 'armis obuium opponam caput', Ag. 946 'ultro uulneri opponam caput', Luc. V 770 sq. 'ruinae...praestare caput'.

II xxviii 47: haec tua, Persephone, *maneat* clementia: *maneat* FN, *moueat* DV. II xxix 10: *dixit, et* in collo iam mihi nodus erat: *dixit et* FN, *dixerat* DV.

II xxxi 7. atque aram circum *steterunt* armenta Myronis.

steterunt F, *steterant* DVN. Either is admissible, but the former is more likely to be the original, since the 3rd pers. plur. perf. in *-ĕrunt* is perpetually altered into the pluperf. by scribes who do not know that this scansion is correct. The same error is found in I xi 29 *fuerant* for *fuerunt*, II viii 10 *steterant* for *steterunt*, III xxiv 20 and IV vii 15 *exciderant* for *exciderunt*: those editors who in these places retain the MS reading shew themselves ignorant of the fact that the pluperfect, though it can be used for the imperfect or for the past aorist, cannot be used for the perfect.

II xxxi 9, 10: templum | et patria Phoebo *carius* Ortygia: *carius* FN, *clarior* DV.

II xxxii 7. hoc utinam *spatiere* loco, quodcumque uacabis.

spatiere F, *spaciere* N, *spatiare* DV. The error is trifling and would not deserve mention but for the extraordinary fact that Baehrens, forgetting in his enthusiasm for DV to what conjugation the verb 'spatior' belongs, has placed *spatiare* in his text.

II xxxii 29, 30. (Solbisky p. 145.)

sin autem longo nox una aut altera *lusu*
  consumpta est, non me crimina parua mouent.

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[1] I find this correction in cod. Brit. mus. 23766.

lusu FN, *luxu* DV. Propertius is here extenuating the delinquencies of Cynthia, and *lusu* is therefore to be preferred as the less offensive term.

II xxxiv 85: haec quoque perfecto *ludebat* Iasone Varro: *ludebat* FN, *laudabat* DV. III ii 4: flumina Threicia *sustinuisse* lyra: *sustinuisse* FN, *detinuisse* DV from *delenisse* in the line above. III iii 11: Hannibalemque *lares* Romana sede fugantes: *lares* F, *lacies* N, *alacres* D, *lacres* V with an erasure before the first letter.

III vi 27—29.

> illum turgentis ranae portenta rubetae
>   et lecta *exectis* anguibus ossa trahunt,
> et strigis inuentae per busta iacentia plumae.

The pentameter is corrupt, but corrupt in one word only: *anguibus* is defended against such conjectures as *exsuccis unguibus* or *ex atris ignibus* by the 'ranae' which precedes and the 'strigis' which follows; and the construction 'legere ossa anguibus', i.e. 'ex anguibus', is well illustrated in the lexicons under 'lego'. But *exectis,* which the editors who keep it apparently take to mean 'cut open', means 'cut out', and therefore, so far as this passage is concerned, means nothing. Now the same word is given by most of Horace's MSS at epod. 5 37 '*execta* uti medulla et aridum iecur | amoris esset poculum' in a similar context: there some MSS have *exucta* which seems to be the true reading; and here '*exuctis* anguibus', the dried bodies of snakes, ought I think to be restored. If so, then F, which has *exactis,* comes nearer the truth than DVN with *exectis,* since nothing is easier than the confusion of *u* with the open form of *a.*

III vi 36: hac eadem *rursus,* Lygdame, curre uia: *rursus* FN, *cursu* DV. III vi 39: me quoque *consimili* inpositum torquerier igni: *consimili* F, *cum simili* DV, *consuli* N. III viii 1: dulcis ad *hesternas* fuerat mihi rixa lucernas: *hesternas* FN, *externas* DV. III viii 34: *in te* pax mihi nulla placet: *in te* FN, *uitae* DV.

III xi 21—24.

> Persarum statuit Babylona Semiramis urbem
> ut solidum cocto tolleret aggere opus,
> et duo in aduersum missi per moenia currus
> *ne* possent tacto stringere ab axe latus.

So DV and most editors. Propertius says then that Semiramis built the walls of Babylon in such a manner that two chariots driven in opposite directions along the top of them *could not* touch. This is not only false but manifestly absurd: let Semiramis build her walls a mile thick, there will be nothing to *prevent* the two chariots from touching if you drive them against one another: to *prevent* this she must erect a partition, of which however history tells us nothing. What Semiramis did, according to history, was to build her walls so thick that two chariots could meet and pass, without touching, on the top of them. Now FN give *nec* for *ne*: taking this and Prof. Tyrrell's *mitti* for *missi* in v. 23 we get the required sense, 'et duo in aduersum *mitti* per moenia currus | *nec* possent tacto stringere ab axe latus', i.e. possent mitti nec stringere, could be driven past without grazing: the verb 'possent' is deferred by an artifice familiar to Latin poetry: see for instance Ovid met. XIII 360 'manu fortes nec sunt mihi Marte secundi', i.e. sunt fortes nec secundi.

III xi 44: baridos et *contis* rostra Liburna sequi: *contis* FN, *cunctis* DV. III xi 48: nomine quem simili uita superba *notat*: *notat* FN, *uocat* DV.

III xiii 37. pinus et incumbens *lentas* circumdabat umbras.

lentas DVN; but the boughs of a pine are not pliant as Hertzberg and others assert them to be, nor if they were would that be any defence of 'lentas circumdabat *umbras*'. *letas* F, i.e. *laetas*, 'luxuriant': this word is perfectly appropriate, and *laetus* is confused with *lentus* times out of number, even so early as Virgil's capital MSS at buc. VII 48. Baehrens' conjecture *lentis* departs further from *lentas* and disturbs the Propertian balance of adjective against substantive.

III xv 45, 46.

> fabula nulla tuas de nobis *concitet* aures:
> te solam et lignis funeris ustus amem.

concitet (*conscitet* F originally) FN, *conciet* DV. Propertius is here trying to lay the suspicions of a jealous mistress who has doubted his fidelity. Whether then the *conciet* which Baehrens alone accepts be meant for the present of 'concieo', or whether for the future of 'concio', in the former case he asserts what is ex hypothesi false, in the latter he foretells what he cannot pretend to foresee.

III xvi 29: aut *humer ignotae* cumulis uallatus harenae: *humer ignotae* F, *humeri ignotae* N, *ignotae humor* DV. III xviii 19, 20: Attalicas supera uestes atque omnia magnis *gemmea* sint ludis: ignibus ista dabis: *gemmea* FN, *semina* DV. III xxi 11: nunc agite, o socii, propellite in *aequora* nauem: *equora* F, *aequore* DVN. IV i 65, 66: scandentes quisquis *cernet* de uallibus arces, ingenio muros aestimet ille meo: *cernet* F Lachmann Hertzberg Haupt Mueller Baehrens, *cernit* DVN Palmer. IV i 129: tua *cum* multi uersarent rura iuuenci: *cum* FN, *non* DV.

IV ii 19, 20.

> mendax fama, *noces:* alius mihi nominis index.
> de se narranti tu modo crede deo.

noces N and most editors. But the erroneous derivations of the name Vertumnus from 'uersus amnis' and 'uertens annus' which false report has noised abroad, are no way *injurious* to the god: they are merely incorrect. DV offer *uaces* which is accepted by Baehrens and makes very good sense, 'give over, lying rumour', 'be quiet': 'uacare' means much the same as 'cessare', cf. Sen. Ag. 87 'licet arma uacent cessentque doli'. But F gives what is obviously the parent of both readings, *uoces*: this is the older way of spelling *uaces*, and probably the only way Propertius knew, for 'uacare' first appears in inscriptions of Domitian's time. Our MSS indicate the same form through the slight disguise of *uorans* at II xxvi 54.

IV ii 33, 34.

> cassibus inpositis uenor; sed harundine sumpta
> *Faunus* plumoso sum deus aucupio.

So DV; but it is not apparent how 'plumoso aucupio' can be explained either as dative or as ablative. F has *fauuor* and N *fauor*, both very unreasonable corruptions of *Faunus;* and Mr Rossberg hence proposes *fautor*. 'deus plumoso aucupio fautor' I regard then as an allusive description of Faunus, giving the supposed ἔτυμον of his name. Mr Solbisky objects to this correction that 'ne ad sensum quidem apta est, cum deum non fautorem siue patronum aucupum dici oporteat, sed eum ipsum arundine sumpta aucupari'. Why not both? see III xiii 43—45 'si forte meo tramite quaeris auem...me Pana tibi *comitem* de rupe uocato'.

IV ii 52: atque Sabina feri *contudit* arma Tati: *contudit* FN, *contulit* DV.

IV vi 21, 22.

> altera classis erat Teucro damnata Quirino
> pilaque feminea turpiter *acta* manu.

acta DV, *apta* FN. At first sight the former may seem to get some support from Mart. spect. 6 6 'haec iam feminea uidimus acta manu', where however 'acta' has quite a different meaning. But the context decides: Propertius here depicts the two fleets as they confronted one another before the battle of Actium: the battle does not begin till v. 55 where it is opened by the shafts of Apollo and then 'proxima post arcus Caesaris hasta fuit'. *acta* therefore is premature: we must read *apta*, and therewith Markland's *femineae:* the dative 'manu' was misunderstood as usual: compare II i 66 '*Tantaleae* poterit tradere poma manu', *Tantalea* MSS.

IV vi 25: tandem aciem geminos Nereus *lunarat* in arcus: *lunarat* F, *limarat* DVN. IV vii 9: et solitum digito beryllon *adederat* ignis: *adederat* FN, *ademerat* DV.

IV vii 85. sed *Tiburtina* iacet hic aurea Cynthia ripa.

Tiburtina F, *Tiburna* DN, V is erased. The reading generally received and doubtless right is 'hic Tiburtina iacet aurea Cynthia ripa': the meaningless *sed* of the MSS is an accidental repetition from the preceding verse '*sed* breue, quod currens uector ab urbe legat'. F then has merely transposed *hic*: the other MSS have carried the error further by a blundering attempt to mend the metre.

IV viii 44: *reccidit* inque suos mensa supina pedes: *reccidit* N, *recidit* F, *decidit* DV.

IV viii 83, 84.

> dein, quemcumque locum externae tetigere puellae,
> *suffiit ac* pura limina tergit aqua.

The exact reading must be doubtful: *suffiit et* and *suffit et a* have also been proposed: but about the verb there can be no question; so that FN with *sufficat* are nearer the truth than DV with *suffocat et.*

IV ix 45, 46.

> sin *aliquam* uultusque meus saetaeque leonis
> terrent.

aliquam F and modern editors except Palmer, *aliquem* DVN. Hercules is addressing women and proceeds to explain why women need not fear him: better then the distinctive form.

IV ix 52: puniceo canas stamine *uincta* comas: *uincta* F, *iuncta* DVN. IV xi 20: in mea sortita *uindicet* ossa pila: *uindicet* F (N has not the verse), *iudicet* DV.

IV xi 101, 102.

> moribus et caelum patuit: sim digna merendo
> cuius honoratis ossa uehantur *aquis.*

aquis FN, *equis* DV. Had Caligula made his horse a consul as he threatened, the world would then have seen what in fact it never saw, a 'honoratus equus': for 'honoratae aquae' no signification can even be imagined. But *aquis* serves for the base of Heinsius' correction *auis*, which was clearly read by the author, whoever he was, of the consolatio ad Liuiam 329 sq. 'ille pio, si non temere haec creduntur, in aruo | inter *honoratos* excipietur *auos*'.

§ 14. *AF better than DV: spelling.*

The following are passages in which the family AF gives a better or less vulgar spelling than the other. Baehrens prolegg. p. XI, describing certain characteristics of the MSS which his apparatus criticus does not record, mentions that the words *namque iamque quicumque* are spelt thus or with *ā* in AFN while DV give *nanque* etc.; that AFN spell the compounds of *iacio* correctly, *traicio* etc., while DV write wrongly *traiicio* etc.; that AFN have *maestus* and *felix*, DV *moestus* and *foelix*.

I iii 15 *temptare* AFN, *tentare* DV; iv 25 *temptatur* AFN, *tentatur* DV; II iii 19 *temptat* FN, *tentat* DV; xii 19 and xix 21 *temptare* FN, *tentare* DV.

I iii 38 *ei* AN, *hei* DV (and also F, by an error which is its own and not its family's, as we know from A).

IV vi 40 *umeris* F, *humeris* DVN; x 11 *umeris* FN, *humeris* DV.

I viii 11 and xvii 8 *harena* AFN, *arena* DV; III xviii 3 *harena* FN, *arena* DV.

II xxxi 13 *Parnasi* FN, *Parnassi* DV; III xiii 54 *Parnasus* N, *Parnasi* F, *Parnassu* V, *Parnassi* D.

IV viii 3 *tutela* FN, *tutella* DV.

IV iv 1 *Tarpelle* F which points to *Tarpeiiae*, *Tarpeiae* DV, *Tarpelae* N; 15 *Carpella* (i.e. *Tarpeiia*) F, *Tarpeia* DV, *Tarpela* N.

IV x 29 *bucina* FN, *buccina* DV.

II i 10 *facilis* (acc. plur.) AFN, *faciles* DV; xxxiii 43 *absentis* F, *absentes* DVN; IV v 45 *gentis* FN, *gentes* DV.

I vii 26 *fenore* AFN, *foenore* DV; III i 22 *fenore* FN, *foenore* DV.

I xi 28 *discidium* AFN, *dissidium* DV; II xxiv 32 *discidium* FN, *dissidium* DV.

II xxix 25 *ostipui* (for *obstipui*) F, *obstupui* DVN.

III iii 22 *cumba* F, *cymba* DVN.

IV i 120 *equs* (for *aequs*) F, *aequus* DVN.

III xix 19 *Clitemestrae* (for *Clytaemestrae*) N, *Clitemestre* F, *Clytaemnestrae* DV; IV vii 57 *Clytemestre* N, *Clitemestre* F, *Clytaemnestrae* DV.

§ 15. *Defence of AF.*

At this point I pause for a moment to note how the facts which we have just surveyed confute Mr Solbisky's depreciatory estimate of AF and demolish his theory that this family is blent from the two stocks of N and of DV. To make the matter quite clear I will here enumerate the instances in which we have found F (A being absent from II i 63 onwards) giving the true lection, or the lection nearest to truth, while both N and DV give a false lection, or a lection further from truth. They are these: II iii 23 *num* F, *non* N, *nunc* DV; x 11 *carmina* F, *carmine* DVN; xi 1 *ne* F, *uel* DVN; xv 26 *uellet* F, *uelles* DVN; xx 23, 24 *numquam* F, *umquam* DVN; xxii 30 *num* F, *non* DVN; xxxi 7 *steterunt* F, *steterant* DVN; III iii 11 *lares* F, *lacies* N, *alacres* D, *.lacres* V; vi 28 *exactis* F, *exectis* DVN; 39 *consimili* F, *consuli* N, *cum simili* DV; xiii 37 *letas* F, *lentas* DVN; xxi 11 *equora* F, *aequore* DVN; IV i 65 *cernet* F, *cernit* DVN; ii 19 *uoces* F, *noces* N, *uaces* DV; vi 25 *lunarat* F, *limarat* DVN; vii 85 *Tiburtina* F, *Tiburna* ND, V erased; ix 45 *aliquam* F, *aliquem* DVN; 52 *uincta* F, *iuncta* DVN: and in the matter of orthography these: II xxix 25 *ostipui* F, *obstupui* DVN; xxxiii 43 *absentis* F, *absentes* DVN; III iii 22 *cumba* F, *cymba* DVN; IV iv 1 *Tarpelle* F, *Tarpelae* N, *Tarpeiae* DV; 15 *Carpella* F, *Tarpela* N, *Tarpeia* DV; vi 40 *umeris* F, *humeris* DVN. From this list I will subtract III vi 28 *exactis*, because this is a place where the lection which I have commended is a conjecture of my own; and I will subtract II xi 1 *ne*, II xx 23, 24 *numquam*, III xiii 37 *letas*, and IV ii 19 *uoces*, because these are places where Mr Solbisky (pp. 154, 157, 166) expressly rejects the reading of F. There remain nineteen instances in which the family AF, represented by F, has alone preserved the truth or the clue to the truth. Now the enquirer who turns to

Mr Solbisky's treatise in hopes of learning how he squares these nineteen instances with his pronouncement (p. 161) 'familiam AF nullius fere momenti habendam esse. ubicumque enim ueram lectionem nobis tradit, Neapolitani consensus accedit,'—that enquirer will be surprised. He will find that Mr Solbisky quotes (pp. 159 sq.) four of the number, II x 11 *carmina*, II xv 26 *uellet*, III xxi 11 *equora*, and IV ix 45 *aliquam*, and admits that in these cases F alone is right, but considers them unimportant. About the remaining fifteen Mr Solbisky says not one word, and the plain fact is that he has overlooked them; for it neither is nor can be disputed that at any rate in the majority of these instances F gives the certain truth. The falsity of Mr Solbisky's conclusions regarding AF is thus very simply explained: it proceeds from his negligence in collecting his facts. And I fully expect that Mr Solbisky, a most candid disputant, will renounce his error when he is confronted with the evidence which has hitherto escaped him. For among our examples there are very striking tokens of integrity: the recondite *lunarat*, *Tiburtina* retained despite the metre, the form *Tarpeiia* disguised but thinly, the form *cumba* preserved. Though none in truth is more striking than the retention at II xv 26 of the unmetrical *uellet* which alone puts into our hands the clue to the genuine reading, a trait of sincerity whose significance Mr Solbisky does not apprehend.

Further evidence to prove the value of AF and the error of Mr Solbisky will be forthcoming in the next section.

A. E. HOUSMAN.

(To be continued.)

THE SHORTENING OF LONG SYLLABLES IN PLAUTUS.

IN a former article I tried to shew that the metrical accentuation of the Iambic and Trochaic lines of Plautus and Terence, unlike that of the Dactylic lines of Virgil and Ovid, followed as closely as was possible the accentuation of the sentence[1] in ordinary talk. I should like now to discuss the laws of prosody observed by the Early Dramatists, but not allowed by the Augustan poets, regarding them from the same point of view, namely as reflexes of the colloquial pronunciation of the time.

The great law of prosody which separates the verse of Plautus from the verse of Virgil is the law of the 'brevis brevians' (*i.e.* brevis syllaba brevians sequentem syllabam), by which long syllables in words like *căvē, vŏlūptatem* may be scanned as short syllables *căvĕ, vŏlŭptatem;* and that is the law which I propose to investigate in this article. The other divergences are admitted by all to be based on the actual pronunciation of the time of Plautus. They are:—

(1) The scansion of certain final syllables as long, such as *-or* of Nouns and Verbs *e.g. candōr, amōr, ducōr, loquōr; -at, -et, -it* of Verbs of the 1st, 2nd and 4th conjugations *e.g. fundāt, amāt, candēt, cavēt, audīt, abīt.* These syllables, which can be proved to have been originally long in Latin, did not become shortened till after the time of Plautus. In other cases a final syllable long by position in early Latin shews this quantity in Plautus *e.g. ēs* (*ess*), *milēs* (*miless*), *tēr* (*terr.* cf. *terruncius*) (see Bücheler, Rhein. Mus. XLVI. p. 237).

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[1] The same theory has by a curious coincidence been proposed by Dr Skutsch of Breslau University in the first volume of his Studies in Latin Grammar and Prosody, which went to press before the appearance of my article. The volume is entitled 'Plautinisches und Romanisches', in accordance with the author's view that many Romance forms find their immediate foretypes in Plautine scansions, *e.g.* Spanish el reverte in *ill(e) revertitur*, della, colla in *dĕ́ ĭlla, cŭ́m ĭlla.*

(2) The shortening of some monosyllables before the conjunction *quidem, e.g. tŭquidem, hĭcquidem.* This usage has recently been pointed out by Prof. Bücheler in the Archiv für Lateinische Lexikographie, III. 144, though neither its limits nor its explanation have yet been satisfactorily determined. That it follows the pronunciation of these words in ordinary discourse cannot be doubted, especially as one of the shortened forms *sĭquidem* forced its way into the later dactylic poetry.

(3) The shortening of long vowels before another vowel in the same word in certain cases not recognized by the Classical poets *e.g. Chĭus.* This was unmistakeably a feature of colloquial Latin (cf. *balnĕum* for *βαλανεῖον*), as is shewn by Bücheler in the Rheinisches Museum, XLI. p. 311.

(4) The shortening or non-elision of certain monosyllables ending in a long vowel or *-m* before the initial vowel of a following word *e.g. dĕ́ ĭlla, cŭ́m ĭlla, cŭ́m eo.* The usage of Terence extends so far only, but in Plautus we find the same treatment of disyllables also *e.g. túăm amicam, dómĭ erat*, and, if we are to believe Prof. Klotz, of some trisyllables. The exact limits of the law are hardly worth discussing here, for it is admittedly based not on any artificial usage of poetry, but on popular pronunciation, cf. *coeo, circuit, dĕamo.*

(5) The dropping of final *-s* after a short vowel before a word beginning with a consonant, or, to speak more correctly, the denial of length by position to such a final syllable, *e.g. estĭs vos.* That this is the rule, and not the exception, in Plautus and the early poets has been shewn by Prof. Havet in his treatise on 'l'S latin caduc' (Études dédiées à G. Paris, Paris, 1891), who also proves it to have been a part of the pronunciation of the day. Whether the same letter was occasionally dropt before an initial vowel, as Dr Leo has conjectured, is doubtful. If it was, it could only be to a very limited extent in cases of closely associated words *e.g. amatu(s) est, amatust*, like *amatu(m) est, amatumst*, where the *m* expresses the nasal sound of the vowel *u*, and possibly *bonu(s) animus, aequu(s) animus*, like *aequanimitas. Plur(is) existumo, Pers.* 353, may easily be a mistake for *plure*, which Charisius tells us was used in Old Latin. No other consonant, not even final *m*,

is ever dropt before an initial consonant; and so scansions like *simŭl fert, enĭm me nominat* are to be referred to the law of 'brevis brevians.'

(6) Syncope of final short *e* in certain conjunctions, adverbs, and pronouns, when they stand before a word beginning with a consonant, *e.g. nemp*(*e*) *tute dixeras, ill*(*e*) *revertitur.* This has been demonstrated by Dr Skutsch in the book just quoted, and is correctly referred by him to the suppression of the final vowel of these words in the rapid utterance of ordinary life. The liability of -*ĕ* to be dropped in Latin is seen from the forms *exemplar* (older *exemplare*), *lac* (in Plautus *lacte*) and many others.

These six points of divergence between Plautine and Virgilian prosody do not however, with perhaps the exception of the fourth, bulk at all so largely in the verses of the Dramatists as the law first mentioned, the law of the 'brevis brevians.' It is this law which governs these scansions which we find on every page of Plautus, *cavĕ, abĭ, domŏ, amă, volŭptates, potĕstates,* and before an initial consonant *simŭl, forŭm,* and the like; but neither its exact limits, nor its precise relation to ordinary pronunciation, have yet been definitely established. The most familiar, and most frequent, instances of its operation are those disyllabic Imperatives of iambic form like *cave, vide, ave, abi, puta, redi.* Now Quintilian (I. 6, 21) tells us that in unconventional talk the second syllable of *ave* was shortened, though a few punctilious persons took pains to give it its proper long sound: (multum litteratus, qui sine aspiratione et producta secunda syllaba salutarit (*avēre* est enim) et *calēfacere* dixerit potius quam quod dicimus et *conservavisse,* his adiciat *face* et *dice* et similia. Recta est haec via, quis neget? sed adjacet et mollior et magis trita), and it is plain that its shortening was due to the fact that the natural tendency of all Latin final syllables, because unaccented, to be weakened was in this case aggravated by the precedence of a naturally short accented syllable. Anyone who tries to pronounce rapidly *ắvē, cắvē, mắnē mắnē* will appreciate the difficulty of keeping the second syllable long. This licence then of the shortening of -*ē*, -*ī* in *ave, abi* and similar words is not a mere metrical licence in which Plautus indulged himself, but is an adherence to the actual pronunciation of colloquial Latin. When he scans the words *vide sis* as an anapaest, he is not allowing a bacchius, (⏑ – –), to take the place of an anapaest (⏑ ⏑ –); he is giving to the words the anapaestic sound which they had in everyday speech. The same must be true of a word like *voluptates*. In conversation, unless one took special care to give the second syllable its full weight, the word would be pronounced as an ionic a minore (⏑ ⏑ – –), for the peculiar combination of short syllable preceding and accented syllable following would inevitably tend to weaken the second syllable. In the word *ministerium* the group of letters *-nist-* offered facilities for still further weakening, and the word sank to *minsterium* (*misterium*), a form presupposed by the Romance forms of the word, and actually read by some editors in Plautus, *Pseud.* 772,

> *parvís magnisque mínisteriis praefúlcior,*

where the MSS. have the corruption *miseriis*. *Cavillator* in *Truc.* 683, as we see from the pun on *caulibus* (v. 686), must be pronounced *caulator*, and Schoell prints it so. I cannot therefore agree to refer these scansions, as Prof. Klotz does in his work on Early Roman Metre, to a law of 'metrical' shortening (das Metrische Kürzungsgesetz). They had their origin in the colloquial pronunciation of the day, a pronunciation admitted by Plautus and Terence into their lines, but excluded by poets of the grander style like Virgil and Ovid in all cases except a few words (*e.g. vidĕn ut* Virg., *cavĕ* and *cave* Ovid), where popular usage was too strong for them[1]. Taking this view of the 'brevis brevians' law, let us see if we can fix more definitely its limitations. The difficulties in the way of settling the exact limits of any law or usage of Plautine verse are necessarily very great, owing to the comparative uncertainty of the text. For a large number of plays we have only one family of MSS., the Palatine (B, C, D), and even where we have the Ambrosian Palimpsest (A) to help us, it is not seldom found to agree with the others in a manifestly wrong reading (*e.g.* in line 572, and many other lines, of the *Persa*). The only course possible under the circumstances is to shape our law according to the great majority of instances, and *a priori* considerations of probability, without deferring unduly to a small minority of contradictory, or possibly contradictory, examples. One could easily adduce a few lines where the MSS. reading offers long final *e* in the Voc. Sing. of the 2nd Declension, but the overpowering number of lines with short *e* in this case of the noun, coupled with the fact that no Indo-European language shews a trace of this *e* having ever been long, warrants us in laying it down as a law for Plautine verse that the ending of these Vocatives is always short, and in treating these MSS. readings, which seem to require *ē*, as corruptions of the genuine text. Now with regard to the shortening of syllables in Latin, we know that a final syllable, through its not having the accent, tended to be shortened. The final *-a* of the 1st Declension, and of 2nd Declension Neuters, had been originally long, but became short in Latin even before Plautus' time. At a later period a long vowel was shortened before certain final consonants, such as *-r*, *-t*. This tendency of a final syllable to be weakened would be specially strong, as we have seen, in iambic words when rapidly uttered, so that we should from *a priori* arguments be quite prepared to find unimportant iambic words scanned as pyrrhics, not merely when the final syllable shortened is one made long only by position, like *simū̆l fert*, but also when its vowel is naturally long, either when that vowel is final *e.g. vide*, or when it precedes final *-r*, *-t*, etc., like *loquor*, *negat*. This is exactly what the majority of instances shew. From the full lists compiled by Leppermann (in a Münster dissertation of 1890) of iambic words with naturally long second syllable shortened in the Iambic and Trochaic metres of Plautus, we see that the most frequent instances (to say nothing of *ego*, *mihi*, *ibi*, etc. which were rather pyrrhic words than iambic in Plautus' time) are subsidiary Verbs of common use ending in a vowel *e.g. cavĕ* (*dicas*), *volŏ* (*scire*), *dabŏ* (*plagam*), *dedĭ* (*plagam*), and Nouns like *homŏ*, *domĭ* (*restat*), *domŏ* (*prodit*).

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[1] Plautus uses the form of everyday talk *au͡onculus* (3 syllables); Virgil the more precise *avonculus* of four syllables.

Next in order of frequency come some words in *-r*, *-t* *e.g.* *moror*, *loquor*, *amat*, *negat*, *soror*, *minor*, while words in *-s* are rarely shortened, *e.g.* *viros*, *bonos*, *foras*, *fores* (*pultat*), and words ending in a diphthong perhaps never, unless we admit *novæ̆ nuptae*, *bonæ̆ frugi*, where the shortening seems to be justified by the cohesion of these words into a compound like *respublica*, *jusjurandum*. Leppermann adds that the shortened forms are more frequent in Trochaic than in Iambic verse, and in both Metres in the first foot of the line or the hemistich than elsewhere; that is to say, they are regarded as more or less of a licence, sanctioned in some cases by the exigencies of the line only. The mere incidence of the metrical ictus on the final syllable is enough to prevent the shortening. All this makes me unwilling to speak of the 'brevis brevians' law as a mere usage of metre, applicable to any word of a particular metrical form, without regard to the nature of the word, and its position or emphasis in the sentence. It rather shews that in Iambic and Trochaic lines at least, for Leppermann's lists are taken from these only, every case where an iambic word is scanned as a pyrrhic had a justification in the sound of that word in current pronunciation. Many of the words so shortened became at a later period confirmed by universal usage in their shortened form, *e.g.* *loquŏr*, *amăt*. Others, *e.g.* *ave*, though in Classical Poetry they retain the long quantity, we know to have had in the Latin of everyday life the same scansion as Plautus allows them. But to infer from these instances that any iambic word might be treated as a pyrrhic in the Trochaic and Iambic lines of Plautus seems to me unwarranted by the evidence.

The same remarks apply to such scansions as *volŭptatem*. They are not merely 'metrical' shortenings; they reflect the ordinary pronunciation of the words. The coexistence of *volūptatem* and *volŭptatem* in Plautus' lines implies that in the talk of the day the word had in careful pronunciation the second syllable long by position, but that in careless utterance the second syllable was slurred, so as hardly to differ from a short syllable. So in a line like *Cas.* 426:

et meís inimicis vólŭptatem creáverim, the right way of stating the case is to say, not that "the incidence of the metrical ictus on the first syllable of *voluptatem* shortens the second syllable," but rather that the colloquial pronunciation of the word allowed of its being scanned on occasion with the second syllable short. We do not find the Nominative, *voluptas*, making an Anapaest, although if all that were required for the shortening of the second syllable were to let the metrical ictus fall on the first syllable, I do not see what was to prevent Plautus from writing

et meís inimicis vólŭptas exoríbitur,

but we do find *volŭptas-mea*, a word-group which had in pronunciation the accent on the third syllable, and so was pronounced more like *volŭptas-mea* than like *volūptas-mea*. All this has important consequences for a moot point of Plautine prosody, the question whether Plautus ever shortened syllables long by nature in polysyllables like *ĭnaequális*. The number of instances that can possibly be quoted to shew that he did are extremely small, I might almost say infinitesimal, in comparison with the host of lines where the second syllable indubitably retains its natural length, and the *a priori* considerations are all against the hypothesis. For the shortening of a syllable long by position is a very different thing from the shortening of a syllable long by nature. The length of a syllable long by position merely is a somewhat uncertain quantity, depending on the nature of the consonants which follow the short vowel. When these consonants are a mute and a liquid (*cr*, *gr*, etc.), we find the Augustan poets sometimes scanning a syllable with a short vowel as long, sometimes allowing it to remain short, while the early Dramatists never allow it to be long at all (thus *ăgros* or *āgros* in Virgil, but only *ăgros* in Plautus). But the length of a vowel long by nature is a fixed quantity not easily altered. We have certainly instances in Latin of final long vowels becoming short, *e.g.* *-a* of the 1st Declension; and that shortening is correctly referred to the tendency of a final syllable, because unaccented, to be weakened. This tendency to weakening however can hardly, as we shall see, be proved to have actually effected the shortening of a final vowel that was long by nature, except in iambic words like *mihi, ibi, cave,* where there was another shortening tendency at work to aid it, so that it is not unreasonable to suppose that the *-a* of the 1st Declension was at first shortened only in words like *eră*, *moră*, and from these was extended by Analogy, and not through any natural process of phonetic change, to words of other than iambic form. But of the shortening of a long vowel in the middle of a word we can scarcely quote any instances except such verbs as *calĕfacere,* which are really resolvable into two words *cale facere* (cf. Lucr. 6. 962 *et facit are*) and so, like *vidĕlicet* or *vidĕ licet*, come under the class of iambic words with final long vowel, or *diĕquinte* (Gell. 10. 24), which admits of the same explanation, unless Synizesis of the first two syllables was the real influence at work here, and not shortening of the second. To our ears, I admit, it sounds as natural to make *ĭnaĕqualis* out of *ĭnaēqualis* as to make *vŏlŭptatem* out of *vŏlūptatem*, but that is merely because we have not that acute sense of the difference between a long and a short vowel which a Roman had, and which alone made a quantitative metre possible for him. The stock example of the shortening of a naturally long middle syllable is *verĕbamini* in Ter. *Phorm.* 902:

> *quid ád me ibatis? rídiculum. verebámini,*

but here the reading is by no means certain, for the MSS. of the Calliopian recension (B, C, P) have *an veremini*, so that *verebamini* may be a mistake for *veremini*, as *videbatur* of the Palatine MSS. in *Rud.* 601 seems to be for *videtur* of A. In the other two instances quoted by Klotz (p. 89), *Amph.* 930, *Pseud.* 1262 we have not the palimpsest to correct the Palatine reading. Another instance, *cunĭla* (Greek κονῑ́λη), in *Trin.* 935:

> *séd ubi apsintiúm fit atque cunila gallinácea,*

is hardly worth discussing; for the natural and obvious treatment of the line is to pronounce *atque* as one syllable (whether we spell *ac* or not), and scan *ac cunīla*, with termination of the first hemistich in the middle of a word, as in so many instances in Plautus (see the list given by Klotz, p. 209, with five from this very play); and the burden of proof falls on those who would seek to justify any other treatment. The chance incidence of the metrical ictus on the first syllable could not, as we have seen, cause a syllable long by position, in *voluptas,* to become short, much less a vowel long by nature in *cunīla.* If the word were properly scanned with short second syllable in this line, that would imply that the word was pronounced *cunĭla,* or something like it, in colloquial Latin. Now we find the Greek name *Philippus,* which has its second syllable long by position, not by nature (*Aul.* 696), scanned with this syllable short in *Pers.* 339:

> *mirúm quin regis Phílippi causa aut Áttali,*

shewing that the Romans retained the Greek accentuation of the first syllable, Φίλιππος, and so were liable to slur the second syllable. We find the Greek τρυτάνη assuming in Latin the form *trútĭna,* shewing that the Romans abandoned that Greek accentuation of the short second syllable which contravened the laws of the Latin accent. But what could possibly have induced them to abandon the accentuation of the long penult of κονίλη, and shift the accent to the first syllable in defiance of Greek and Latin accentuation alike? If *cúnĭla* really were the Latin form (like *símĭla*), then it was a form as widely divergent from the Greek original as *Proserpina* from Περσεφόνη, and cannot be quoted as a proof that the accentuation of a neighbouring syllable might shorten a naturally long vowel.

A stronger argument might be drawn from *áncŏra* (Greek ἄγκῡρα), but the substitution of *o* for *u* in this word indicates that Analogy or some other force has been at work, so that the Latin form is not a direct reproduction of the Greek. Besides, *ancora* has a long first syllable and can have no bearing on the 'brevis brevians' law.

Still less plausible is the proposal to scan *éŏrum, éărum,* instead of regarding the first two syllables as united by Synizesis. Indeed, the investigations of Leppermann and Boemer into the treatment of iambic words in Plautus and Terence seem to shew that even disyllabic forms like *eos, meos, deos* are rather to be regarded as cases of Synizesis, *e͡os, me͡os,* than of 'brevis brevians,' *ĕŏs, mĕŏs.* For, as was mentioned before, a naturally long vowel is seldom shortened by this law before final *s*. Scansions like *bonŏs, forăs, redĭs* are rare, but these words *eos, meas, meis, suos, suas, suis* occur over and over again with a metrical worth which admits of being stated either as two short syllables or one long syllable. The natural inference then is that the latter alternative is the correct statement of the case, and this is confirmed by the occurrence of spellings like *mis* for *meis, sis* for *suis*. Whether *scio, die* should on occasion be pronounced *scĭŏ* or *sci͡o, dĭĕ* or *di͡e* is difficult to determine. A monosyllabic *pu͡er* seems required in *Merc.* 292 *puer súm, Lysimache,* where a disyllable would be accented *puér sum*, and is perhaps attested by compounds like *Marcipor*.

Another moot point in connexion with the 'brevis brevians' law is its extension to cretic words. We have seen that a final syllable, even when long by nature, tended to be weakened in Latin, and that this tendency found expression not infrequently in iambic words like *modo, modos, erat, loquor*, where an additional weakening force was in operation, namely the 'attraction,' if we may so term it, exercised by the accented short syllable preceding. But in cretic words this additional influence was absent ; and we are not entitled to infer that the final syllable of *commodo, commodos, venerat, colloquor* must have been equally liable to weakening. If to our ears *cómmodŏs* sounds as natural as *módŏs*, this is due to the predominance of stress over vowel-quantity in the Teutonic languages. An Italian does not weaken the last vowel of the word 'Tivoli,' as it is weakened by English lips, though he lays, like us, the stress on the first syllable. There is therefore no *a priori* certainty that the final syllable *os* would be treated in *commodos* in the same way as in *modos*, although the occurrence in Horace's poems (especially the *Satires* and *Epistles*) of *Polliŏ, dixerŏ, mentiŏ*, and the like, gives some colour of probability to the supposition; and when we examine the treatment of such words in Plautus, we find that instances of cretic words being scanned as dactyls in Iambic and Trochaic lines are, if found at all in dialogue passages, found only in the first foot of the line or hemistich, while in Terence they are not found at all. In the Anapaestic verses of Plautus such scansions are very frequent, the natural deduction from which is that this transformation of a cretic into a dactylic word is a licence borrowed by Plautus from his Anapaestic Cantica for occasional use in cases of urgent metrical necessity in those lines which follow metres 'sermoni propiora.' Prof. Klotz has declared it unreasonable to suppose that different usages of versification prevailed in Anapaestic, and other metres peculiar to Cantica, from those observed in the Iambic and Trochaic dialogue passages. Still when one reads an Anapaestic Canticum of Plautus, one cannot help feeling that we have here an experiment in verse-making, an attempt to force a language, ill adapted for the purpose, to run in the grooves of Greek metre; and this feeling is justified by the fact that these Anapaestic Metres were entirely discarded by Plautus' later imitator, Terence, on whose plays indeed Quintilian passes the criticism, 'plus adhuc habitura gratiae, si intra versus trimetros stetissent.'

So far we have seen that the law of 'brevis brevians' is in the dialogue metres confined to: (1) the final syllables of such iambic words as, from their frequency of use and their subordination in the sentence, were liable to be pronounced rapidly and indistinctly, whether these final syllables are long by position merely or by nature. Of words with final syllable long by nature the most liable to this weakening are those ending in a vowel, then those ending in certain consonants, such as *-r*, *-t*, *e.g. simŭl fert, vidĕ, homŏ, loquŏr, erăt.*

(2) The second syllables, when long by position, of long words with short initial syllable and with the third syllable accented in ordinary pronunciation, *e.g. volŭptatem, volŭptatibus.*

To these polysyllabic words we have now to add polysyllabic word-groups, such as *volŭptás-mea, molĕstaé-sunt, in-ĕxércitum, ub(i)-ĕfféceris*; and here we should expect the same limitation to hold, viz. that the syllable shortened must be one long by position only, and not by nature. We find this expectation confirmed by the lists given by Klotz (pp. 73 *sqq.*). The shortening in question appears most frequently when a short monosyllabic[1] conjunction, or other word closely associated with a verb, precedes a compound verb whose first syllable is long by position, *e.g. ut ĭncedit*, or when a short monosyllabic preposition precedes a noun or adjective similarly compounded with a preposition, *e.g. in ĭncertas, per ŏppressionem, in ŏcculto.* That the preposition in a compound was peculiarly liable to be shortened we see from a form like *ŏmitto* for *obmitto, ommitto,* with first syllable shortened even in classical poetry, not to speak of Lucilius' *ore cŏrupto*; and the main body of instances are of this kind, though we have also examples like *quod ărgentum* in *Curc.* 613,

quód argentum, quas tú mihi tricas nárras? quam tu
vírginem?

where *argentum* is said by Klotz to follow the analogy of prepositional compounds like *arcesso, arbitror.* The prepositions *in* and *con* before *s, f* lengthened their vowel in Cicero's time (*Orator* 48. 159), and we apparently do not find shortenings in such compounds. (Read *īnfumatis* with the Palatine MSS. and Priscian in *Stich.* 493.) We have also word-groups composed of pairs of monosyllables[1] closely united in pronunciation with each other and with the following word, *e.g. nis(i) ăb sese, ub(i) hĭnc ivero.* Klotz regards these as disyllabic word-groups, and by this view they should follow the analogy of iambic words like *vide, domi, dabo,* and allow shortening of syllables long by nature, as well as of those long by position. If we look at Klotz's lists on pp. 69 *sqq.*, we see the enclitic pronoun *hic* in its various forms *haec, hac, huc* etc. shortened in this way, *e.g. Stich.* 237 *quis haĕc est, Truc.* 480 *fer hŭc verbenam,* though in each instance of the preposition *a* we might easily read *ab,* *e.g. Capt.* 206 *quid ă nobis metuit.* Other of his examples are not so well established, *e.g. Bacch.* 491,

sátin ut quem tu habeás fidelem tíbi, aŭt quoi credas néscias,

and one at least should be without hesitation rejected, *Cas.* 496,

quibus báttuatur tíbi ŏ́s, senex nequíssume (so the Palatine MSS.),

whether the true remedy be to read with Schoell *qui os battuatur tibi,* or to scan *batt(u)atur* (like the Vulgar Latin *batt(u)ere*),

quibus bátt(u)atur tibi ós, senex nequíssume, for the accentuation *bátt(u)atúr tibi* would not violate the Dipody law.

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[1] This includes words made monosyllables by elision.

To these Klotz adds (pp. 80 *sqq.*) words which have become Iambic through elision of the final vowel, *e.g.* *vidĕtqu(e)*, *licĕtn(e)*, *profĕct(o)*, *quiĕsc(e)*. But he fails to convince us that the shortening is permissible only in the elided, and not in the full forms, of these words. The scansion *vidĕtque, licĕtne* must indeed be accepted, but its acceptance would lead one rather to believe that the pronunciation of these verbs *vidĕt, licĕt* was so established in popular usage that, when the enclitic *que*, or *ne*, was added, the compound word was treated as a tribrach, and took the accent on the antepenultimate. *Profĕcto, dedĭsse, dedĭsti* have not yet received adequate explanation; the evidence however is quite insufficient to prove that the shortening had anything to do with elision of the final vowel; *quiesce* should certainly be scanned with Synizesis, *qui͡esce*, like *qui͡etus; perĭnde, Stich.* 520, was according to the Latin Grammarians pronounced with the accent on the first syllable (Priscian XV. 9, p. 67: cf. Servius ad *Aen.* VI. 743); and I imagine that few will support Prof. Klotz in scanning:

Aul. 599 *érĭle imperium edíscat ut quod fróns velit oculí*
sciant.

Stich. 700 *ámĭcam uter utrobi áccumbamus. Ábi tu sane*
súperior.

Capt. 90 *vel ĭre éxtra portam trígeminam ad saccúm licet.*

Mil. 24 *nisi ŭnum: épityra apud illa éstur insané bene.*

We have therefore no reason to extend the 'brevis brevians' law beyond iambic words and word-groups on the one hand, and polysyllabic words or word-groups on the other, nor to allow that it effected the shortening of syllables by nature in any but the first of these two spheres, and even there in more than a very limited number of instances. Nor have we found any cause why the law should be regarded as a mere usage of metre, and not rather as a reflexion of actual pronunciation.

W. M. LINDSAY.

THE PRINTED EDITIONS OF NONIUS MARCELLUS.

Mr John Henry Onions, whose premature and lamented death in 1889 was a most serious loss to learning, left behind him a mass of materials collected by him during a period of some ten years for a new edition of Nonius. These comprised (1) a text of the first three books, written out for press, with an *apparatus criticus* containing the results of his collations of manuscripts: (2) collations of the MSS. of the remaining books.

These collections were offered to the Delegates of the Clarendon Press, who ultimately placed them in my hands with a request that I should complete the edition. On examining them I found that the *apparatus criticus* to the first three books gave an account of the manuscript readings only. There was no mention of the contributions to the text which have been made since the Renaissance, although, as is natural, Mr Onions' text is largely founded on these contributions. Half of the *apparatus criticus* had, in short, to be written.

I take this opportunity of explaining, in justice to Mr Onions' memory, under what circumstances the work of editing Nonius must be carried on. Having to add to his *apparatus criticus* an accurate report of the work of the Renaissance and post-Renaissance scholars, I took some pains to ascertain how far the statements of Lucian Müller and Quicherat are to be accepted as trustworthy. Some misgiving with regard to Lucian Müller I felt on reading his very first page. He makes Cicero (*De Sen.* 8 § 25) quote Caecilius as saying *tum equidem in senecta hoc deputo miserrimum, Sentire ea aetate esse se odiosum* *alteri.* Upon this he proceeds to charge Cicero with interpolating Caecilius, because he was offended with the word *eumpse* (*eumpse esse odiosum*). But Cicero quoted *eumpse* without scruple, if we may believe the best (the Leyden) MS. of the *De Senectute*, which reads *sentire ea aetate eum se esse odiosum alteri.* Inaccuracies must occur in the work of every scholar, and I should certainly not think it right to call attention to faults of this kind, were it not that neither Gerlach and Roth, nor Quicherat, nor Lucian Müller, seem to have given any serious attention to the editions of 1470 and 1471. Owing to this fact, a considerable number of emendations which are due to the edition of 1470 have been wrongly attributed to other scholars.

But this is not all. I found that the Bodleian Library contains a copy of Junius' edition which once belonged to Scaliger, and which contains a number of manuscript notes from his hand, many of which have remained, down to the present time, almost unknown.

In this paper, then, I propose to give some account of the most important printed editions of Nonius, with the view of supplementing, and in some points correcting, the reports of previous editors. In particular, I shall quote passages from the first book shewing that far too little attention has been paid to the editions of 1470 and 1471; and shall (with the permission of Bodley's Librarian) publish a first instalment of the manuscript notes of Scaliger above mentioned.

The text of Nonius was copied in the Carolingian era from a manuscript written in capitals[1]; but was apparently not transcribed at all in the eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth or fourteenth centuries. In the fifteenth century, however, copies were frequently made, and bad manuscripts consequently got into the hands of the earliest editors. A French MS. of Nonius was sent to Italy by Poggio, who speaks of it in a letter to Nicolai Niccoli written in 1425. After this date Nonius was transcribed a great deal in Italy.

Between 1470 and 1500 (including the latter year) Nonius was printed at least ten times. The first edition was that of

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[1] Lucian Müller, vol. 2 p. 263.

Pomponius Laetus[1], published by Lawer in 1470. In 1468 Laetus, who had been arrested in Sicily on a charge of republican and anti-Christian conspiracy, was brought back to Rome, and imprisoned in the Castle of St Angelo. Voigt well describes him as an "überspannten Alterthümler, dessen Ideale in uraltem Rom und in den ältesten Wörten und Formeln der römischen Sprache lagen." It is not surprising that after his liberation (for liberated he was, after an abject act of submission to the Pope) he should undertake an edition of Nonius.

His preface deserves to be quoted on all accounts. *Pomponius Gaspari salutem. Rogavit me Georgius Laur de Herbipoli, fidelissimus librorum impressor, ut Nonii Marcelli opus percurrerem atque si fieri posset corrigerem....Auxiliante Volsco et nostris etiam amicis opem ferentibus multa in eo depravata correximus, non ut quibusdam mos est nova fecimus sed exemplaria ipsa contulimus.* At the end of the volume are the following verses:

Ex scriptis rerum, ut fertur, cognoscitur omnis
Causa: patent illis oppida, bella, duces:
Scriptori multum debemus, nec minus illis
Maiorum qui non scripta perire sinunt.
Marcelli studium multorum inscitia Noni
Sprevit, dignum omni posteritate legi:
Correctum pariter ceu scripserit auctor habeto
Illud Pomponi, candide lector, ope.

Of Laetus' Nonius it would perhaps be too much to say what Spengel[2] says of his Varro published in 1471, *Pomponius non pauca nec levia sed plura et gravissima correxit, multa bene, plura perverse et minus verecunde.* The last words are true of the Nonius. But though they are true, though Laetus knows no Greek, though he has bad manuscripts before him, manuscripts too, which omit the third book; though he alters his text in many cases with desperate eagerness, leaving at the same time many sentences which bear no meaning: his work is stamped with the mark of real Latin scholarship, and he has anticipated, in a considerable number of instances, corrections of reading or of orthography which modern editors have attributed to later scholars. Of these I give the following examples from the first book:

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[1] For some account of this curious and interesting character the reader may be referred to Voigt, *Die Wiederbelebung des Classischen Alterthums*, vol. 2 p. 239 foll.; to the third volume of Creighton's *History of the Popes;* and to Nolhac, *La Bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini* (Paris, 1887). Laetus was a professor in Rome, and the head of an association enthusiastic for the promotion of classical study.

[2] Preface to his *Varro De Lingua Latina*, p. xix.

P. 3 9 (Mercier): *conparce* Laetus.

5 10 (from Cicero *De Re Publica*): *ita magnam habet viam disciplina verecundiae: carent temeto omnes mulieres. Vim* Laetus, and after him Junius.

5 14 From Varro *Est Modus Matulae. Quis in omni Vita heluo...olfacit temetum? Helio* MSS.: *helluo* Laetus and after him Junius: *heluo* edd. 1476—1483.

6 2 *Iugurtino* Laetus.

8 23 From Varro's *Gerontodidascalus. Putas eos non citius tricas Tellenas quam id extricaturos?* The MSS give *tellanas*; Laetus reads *Tellenas*, which was subsequently conjectured by Turnebus, who has had all the credit of it.

9 21 From Accius' *Epinausimache. Item ad maestitiam mutam infantum quadrupedum. Mutam* Laetus for *mutuam*, and so the edd. to 1483: but the credit is given to Junius.

12 22 *Suppilare est involare vel rapere, a pilorum raptu; unde et furtum passi compilari dicuntur. Compilari* MSS.: Junius wrote *compilati*, which is due to Laetus.

13 3 *Haustra proprie dicuntur rotarum cadi, ab hauriendo. Cadi* has been successfully defended by Munro, but Madvig Adv. 2 p. 654 has proposed to read *radii*, which Lucian Müller adopts. It is not generally known that *radii* was conjectured by Laetus.

15 26 From the *Meleager* of Accius. *Eum suae vitae finem ac fati internecionem fore Meleagro, ubi torrus esset interfectus flammeus. Suum vitae* MSS.: *suae* Laetus, and so ed. 1471. L. Müller attributes it to ed. 1476.

17 24 From Lucilius. *Ipse ecus non formonsus, gradarius, optimus vector. Victor* MSS.: *vector* Laetus, which dropped out

of the editions until it was taken up again by Bentinus. L. Müller attributes *vector* to the "vulgata."

18 21 From Lucilius. *Frumentarius *est modium hic secum atque rutellum una adfert.* *Unam* or *unum* MSS.: *una* Laetus, the credit of which is given to ed. 1476.

18 34 From Lucilius. *Publius Pavus Tuditanus mihi quaestor.* *Tuditanus* is a correction of Bouterwek's: but Laetus nearly anticipated it by writing *Tudicanus.*

26 5 The name *Alcmenam* is written by Laetus (and again in ed. 1483) *Alcumenam.* The spelling is now known to be often right, though in this place it would be unmetrical.

27 1 *Strabones sunt strambi quos nunc dicimus.* The spelling *strambus* of the word usually written *strabus* has been supposed to be quite a modern discovery: Loewe in his Prodromus p. 391 calls it a *vox hucusque non nota.* Laetus knew of it, however, for he wrote *quos nunc strambos dicimus*: and so the editions of 1471, 1476, and 1478. *Strabi* all editions from 1483 to Lucian Müller.

27 26 On the word *putus.* *Nam et rationes putari dictae sunt* etc. *Orationes* edd. 1471—1483; *rationes* Laetus and again Ald.

33 23 From a letter of Cicero to Octavianus. *In quo tua me provocabit oratio, mea consecuta est segnis.* So the MSS.: *provocavit* Laetus, which is attributed to ed. 1476.

35 9 From Lucilius. *Insperato abiit, quem una angina sustulit hora.* *Abit* the MSS.: *abiit* is credited to Junius, but Laetus had anticipated it.

35 30 *Discerniculum...dicta a discernendo.* So the MSS.: *dictum* Laetus and ed. 1476, to which Müller ascribes it.

36 31 From Lucilius. *Haut litteras doceas lutum.* *Littera* the MSS.: *litteras* is attributed by Müller to the modern editor Gerlach, but it is as old as Laetus.

44 5 From Varro on the word *pandere.* *Sed quod in asylum qui confugissent panis daretur, esse nomen (Pandae) fictum a pane dando.* *Confugisset* the MSS., which are probably right. But the editors read *confugissent* and attribute it to the Aldine: it is really due to Laetus, and was adopted by all editors after him.

45 12 On the word *cassus*. *Sed magis ab aranearum cassibus ductam, quod sunt leves ac nullius ponderis.* *Leves* for *levis* is due to Laetus.

47 19 From Varro's *Gerontodidascalus*. *Vineis ubi ampla cella, torculum respondeat.* *Respondeat* MSS. and so Laetus, and after him Junius and L. Müller: others read *cella et torculum respondeant.*

49 1 *Trossuli dicti sunt torosuli.* *Torosuli* is attributed to Ald., but Laetus has *torossuli.*

53 8 On the word *vestibulum*. *Atque ob hanc constitionem et quasi stabulationem primos ingressus domorum vestibula nominatos.* The MSS. give *consictionem* or *consitionem:* Laetus rightly reads *constitionem,* which is attributed to Turnebus.

65 8 From the *Alcyones* of Cicero. *Hunc genuit claris delapsus ab astris Praevius Aurorae, solis noctisque satelles.* *Cladis* or *claudis* the MSS.: *claris* Laetus, for which the Aldine has got the credit.

66 4 *Excordes concordesve ex corde.* Laetus prints *excordes concordes vecordesve,* thus nearly anticipating L. Müller's correction *excordes vaecordes concordesque.* I add from Book 2

68 11 *Sisenna historiographus lib. iv.* The correction *historiarum* is attributed to ed. 1476: it is found in edd. 1470 and 1471.

68 16 *Cum etiam tum intellecto Crassus esset.* *In lecto* Laetus and ed. 1471; the correction is attributed to ed. 1476.

70 13 *Cicero de finibus bonorum et malorum et Marcus II.* The intrusive words *et Marcus* are omitted by Laetus and ed. 1471, though ed. 1476 gets the credit.

The next printed edition is that of 1471. This has no preface, nor any indication whatever to guide us to the editor's name or to the place of printing and publication. At the end of the volume is an imperfect hexameter, *Finito libro Laus et Gloria Christo.* Like Laetus' edition of the preceding year, this is founded on a manuscript or manuscripts which omitted the third book. No one can look into it without perceiving at once that it gives a text quite different from that of Laetus, though many of his corrections reappear in it. Was the edition (one is almost tempted to think so from the verse at the end) intended as a protest against the supposed heresies of Laetus? Whether this be the case or no, the fact remains that the edition of 1471 entirely superseded that of 1470, and was taken as the basis of all succeeding editions until the appearance of the Aldine in 1513. A new feature in it is the alphabetical index of the words treated by Nonius, with which it begins.

Having mentioned some cases in which readings attributed to later editions were anticipated in the edition of 1470, or in those of 1470 and 1471, I will point out a few which are due exclusively to the edition of 1471.

P. 10, 11 : 11, 12—15. The words *torialium et toralium... segestria appellabant*, which belong to p. 11, 12—15 are in the MSS wrongly placed on p. 10. The first edition in which the error is corrected is that of 1471, not (as L. Müller says) that of 1476.

16 18 *Prolubium* for *proluvium* is first found in ed. 1471.

38 7 *Syrus ipse ac mastigias. Iste* ed. 1471, and after it ed. 1476.

50 11 *Fures...quod per obscuras atque atras noctes opportuna sit eius mali effectio.* The modern editors state that ed. 1476 reads *eis* for *eius*: the alteration (a wrong one, by the way) is due to ed. 1471.

66 11 *Quod melior mors sapientioribus quam vita probetur.* For *sapientioribus* ed. 1471 reads *sapientibus*, which again is attributed to ed. 1476.

The next edition is that of Jenson, Venice, 1476. This edition has, as I have shewn, obtained the credit for many readings which are really due to those of 1470 and 1471. It is in reality based largely upon that of 1471, on which it is an improvement. It should be mentioned in particular that the editor shews more knowledge of Greek than his predecessors. The index at the beginning is taken from ed. 1471.

In 1478 Nonius was again printed at Venice[1]. This is the first edition in which Nonius and Paulus (not Festus) are printed together; so that Lucian Müller is not quite accurate in saying (vol. 2 p. 278) that Varro and Festus were habitually printed together with Nonius after 1476, and that this was first done in 1480[1]. Paulus, it may be observed, had been printed in 1471, 1475, 1477, and 1478. In the volume now under consideration the letter *S* of Nonius' second book has changed places with the letter *S* of Paulus. The index is different from that of 1471, and begins *aura, atque, anchorae.*

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[1] The Bodleian copy of this edition, which once belonged to Henry Drury of Harrow, is wrongly dated on the back 1499.

In the Parma edition of 1480 Nonius is followed by Varro *De Lingua Latina* and Paulus. The Varro is that of Laetus published in 1471: the index is that of ed. 1478. This edition follows in the main those of 1471 and 1476, but decidedly not that of 1470, which seems curious, as the editor adopts the Varro of Laetus.

Two editions of Nonius were published in 1483; one at Brescia (*per Bononium de Boninis de Ragusia*), the other at Venice. They are merely reprints of ed. 1480, but in the Venice edition Varro is printed last. The *indices* of both are differently arranged from that of ed. 1480.

The Venice edition of 1492 again contains Nonius, Paulus, and Varro *De Lingua Latina.* The Nonius is on the whole the Nonius of 1471; the index, like that of 1478, begins with *aura, atque, anchorae.*

In 1498 a reprint of ed. 1492, somewhat improved, appeared at Venice. And in 1500[2] Battista Pio published a Nonius at Milan. The original edition I have not seen, but the British Museum Library contains a reprint of it dated 1511. The volume contains Nonius, Varro *De Lingua Latina,* and Paulus. In his dedication (to Guiddotto) Pius claims to have restored Nonius, Varro, and Paulus *in pristinam faciem, abstersa omni vitiligine et foeditate,* and at the end of the volume he says *multa perperam adducta testimonia restituimus. Legebatur passim* '*Vatro*' (sic) '*de vita patrum.*' *Emendatum iri putavimus, et* '*de vita populi Romani*' *censuimus esse legendum.* A modern scholar will at first sight characterize the editor's claims as enormously overstated, for Pio's text, so far as I have examined it, is not a great improvement on those of his predecessors. He knows nothing of Laetus' edition of 1470: and even his correction *De Vita Populi Romani* for *De Vita Patrum* is not consistently inserted. But allowance must be made for the circumstances of the time, and the fashion which scholars then sometimes adopted in speaking of their own work. Laetus himself exaggerates his own performance in very much the same way.

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[1] "Deinde" (i.e. after 1476) "iungi "coepti cum Nonio Varro et Festus, "quod primum, quantum constat, "factum est in editione Parmensi a. "1480."

[2] I take this date upon trust, not having been able to see a copy of Pio's edition. It is not to be found either in the British Museum or the Bodleian Library. A note at the beginning of the reprint of 1511, in the British Museum, by C. B. Lenghnich, assigns the original Milan edition to 1510.

Hitherto the existence of the third book of Nonius seems to have been unknown: but in 1511 it was published at Pesaro[1] by Clarelius Lupus of Spoletum, together with the *Orthographia* of Terentius Scaurus, and Caper's *De Differentiis*, *Orthographia*, and *De Verbis Dubiis.* The book is dedicated to Galeazzo Sforza. There is a second dedication, printed before the Nonius, to Alexander Turcellanus, who, it is implied, assisted the editor with his corrections. *Capri Grammaticum Nonium De Indiscretis Generibus ac Terenti Scauri grammatici nobilissimi orthographiam, qui Adriani florens temporibus librum etiam de casellii* (sic) *vindicis grammatici erroribus conscripsit, artificiosorum characterum formulis insigniri exoptavi. Quod ut emendatius fieri contingeret tuo iudicio corrigendos tradidi.*

This, the first printed edition of the third book, was apparently unknown to Giovanni Giocondo (Jucundus) the architect and scholar, who in his old age (1513) edited Nonius for Aldus. At least, the text of Giocondo's third book differs so much from that of Lupus as to make it extremely unlikely that the later editor knew anything of the labours of the former. Giocondo was summoned to Paris as royal architect in 1499. It was, I suppose, during this visit that he found and copied his manuscript of Pliny's letters edited by Aldus in 1508. Of his Nonius Aldus says *Nonii Marcelli Compendia, in quibus tertia fere pars addita est, non ante impressa, idque labore et diligentia Iucundi nostri Veronensis, qui in Gallia Nonium cum antiquis contulit exem-*

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[1] This fact does not seem to be known to the editors of Nonius. At the end of it is the notice *Impressum Pisauri per Hieronymum Socinatem sub Constantio Sfortia Die Penultimo Octobris* M.D.XI.

plaribus. Additus praeterea est longus tractatus de generibus. Giocondo, then, must have worked at Nonius also during the same time, and fallen in with really good manuscripts[1].

The *longus tractatus de generibus* is the third book, now for the first time embodied in the work.

Giocondo's *Nonius* of 1513 marks an immense advance upon the previous editions. Based upon good manuscripts of the whole work, it formed the groundwork of all subsequent editions. The Greek quotations and illustrations appear for the first time in presentable form throughout; and, though much erroneous matter is left, still more is removed.

In this edition Nonius is printed with Varro *De Lingua Latina* and Paulus as part of the *Cornucopiae* of Nicolas Perotti, archbishop of Siponto. This miscellany, printed first in 1489, contained originally only Perotti's Commentary on Martial and notes upon Pliny the younger. These pieces now come first in the new and fuller volume.

The *Cornucopiae* in its new shape was reprinted at Basel in 1521, and again in 1526 and 1527. At the end of the edition of 1527 (those of 1521 and 1526 I have not seen) are printed a number of emendations by Michael Bentinus: *huc accedunt Castigationes in hunc ipsum Nonium non contemnendae, obiterque in Varronem et Festum ex veterum codicum fide Michaelis Bentini opera.* Bentinus' emendations are generally very good, consisting to a large extent of supplements to Nonius' quotations, made from the text of the authors quoted.

Between 1527 and 1565, when the next important edition of Nonius appeared, philological research is shifting its centre of gravity from Italy to France. Italy is represented by Antonius Augustinus, Floridus Sabinus, and Victorius: France by Muretus, D'Aurat, Brodeau, the Stephenses, Turnebus, Cujas and Lambinus: while Leopardus and Fruitiers (Fruterius) appear in the Low Countries.

Adrian de Jongh, known in the learned world as Hadrianus Junius, combined the study of antiquity with the profession of medicine. His eventful life was passed in England, in Den-mark, and in the Low Countries, where he ended his days at Haarlem, in his sixty-fifth year, in 1575. His edition of Nonius he published while rector of the school of his boyhood at Haarlem. For this difficult task he had prepared himself by wide classical reading and discursive writing. In his various works he had touched upon Quintus Curtius, Seneca's *Ludus*, Eustathius, and Plutarch's *Symposiaca Problemata*, besides Greek lexicography and ancient proverbs. His six books of *Animadversa* had been published at Basel in 1556.

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[1] Lucian Müller thinks they may have been those now known as the Harleian and the Leyden.

To De Jongh Nonius' book is still an authority of great importance; *fecundum quoddam Copiae Cornu et instructissima, ut ita dicam, apotheca* he calls it in his Dedication to Maximilian II. His author's text he describes as *foedis maculis deturpatum ac mutilum quoque, in quo emendando certatim cum summa contentione a doctis cum Germanis tum Italis Gallisque sudatum est.....* *A me* (he continues) *bis mille amplius locis et emendatus et interpolatus et auctus est. Qua in re et propria industria difficultates expugnare aggressus sum, et vetustissimis apographis.* In his preface, addressed to Sambucus, he says *ingentes ac tantum non Herculeos labores in urgendo pertinacius incepto exantlavi.*

Junius is sparing in his mention of the scholars to whose labours he is indebted, nor does he tell us what were the *vetustissima apographa* on which he bases his text. His own corrections are often silently inserted in the text, often printed in the margin.

The book opens with an index of authors quoted. Nonius and Fulgentius are printed together, but Varro and Paulus are discarded. A new era of criticism has dawned. A scholar of Junius' mark would not now dream of attempting to edit three such texts simultaneously.

It is needless for me to add anything to the well-merited eulogies which scholars have been unanimous in pronouncing upon Junius' edition. If the Aldine represents the final effort of the earliest school of the revived learning, Junius' book may be said to mark the beginning of another period, the period when scientific criticism is first coming into existence.

Joseph Scaliger, whose *Coniectanea* appeared in 1565, must have bought De Jongh's *Nonius* soon after its appearance. His copy is now in the Bodleian Library, and belongs to the Meerman collection (Cat. Meerman vol. 2 no. 39). On the second page of the fly-leaf Scaliger has written as follows: *Nonius Marcellus collatus ad vetus exemplar optimum cuius copia nobis facta est. Anno a Christo nato MDLX.V.*[1] *Calendas Novembris. Iosephus Scaliger contuli. In eo exemplari quaecumque offendimus margini apposuimus. Nam in quibus littera N signata est, haec sunt nostrae conjecturae. Ubi c est, est Cuiacii Iurisconsulti codex.*

In 1565 Scaliger was in Rome, so that the *vetus exemplar optimum* may have been one of the Roman manuscripts. The readings which he records do not coincide with those of any of the copies collated by Onions; but they often do with those of the *editio princeps* of 1470.

The other manuscript Scaliger can hardly have known before 1570, when he was at Valence with Cujas. Cujas, as is well known, lent other manuscripts to Scaliger, notably the valuable one of Ausonius. This copy of Nonius is probably the same as that used by Mercier, who says of it in the preface to his second edition[2] that it was very imperfect in the fourth book. In this book Scaliger has made very few notes from it.

Scaliger's conjectures are often (as he tells us) indicated by N[3], but often also by *S*, *Sc*, or *Scal.* The last three abbreviations in many cases, but not always, indicate conjectures which he had already published in his Varro, Festus, Catalecta, or elsewhere. There is also a considerable number of notes, which must belong to Scaliger's later years, quoted from Canter, Cujas, Muretus, Lipsius, and other scholars. Had Scaliger published his own conjectures, it would have been found, as I will shew in a moment, that he had anticipated, in a great number of instances, certain corrections afterwards made by others.

These notes of Scaliger have never been published, though they have been read and copied once at least. Towards the end of last year I wrote to the Librarian of the University at Leyden, asking whether his library contained any manuscript notes of Scaliger upon Nonius. With his accustomed courtesy and kindness he at once forwarded for my use two copies of Junius' edition. One of these belonged to Isaac Voss, and contains a large number of Scaliger's notes. These, I found, consist partly of Scaliger's printed emendations, partly of the manuscript notes written in the Meerman or Bodleian copy which I have just mentioned. At the beginning of the first book of Nonius is a distinct statement that the writer had before him the copy belonging to Scaliger, to which I have referred. *Hoc scio* (he says) *in melioribus codicibus titulum istum* (‘*Peripatetici*’) *non comparere; testem te invoco, illustrissime ἥρως ac domine, Ios. Scaliger, qui Nonium ante annos fere XL ad optimas membranas contulisti libri MS qui fuit penes principem I* C^{tum} *I. Cujac. V. Cl.*

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[1] This must be an error for MDLXV. *V. Calendas Novembris.*

[2] *Usus sum eodem tempore libro manuscripto maximi Jurisconsultorum Jacobi Cujacii, cujus ille opera aliquot insignitas maculas deterserat, sed eo longe recentiori neque integro, aberat enim magna pars capitis quarti.*

[3] Probably for *Nos*, as Mr Madan suggests.

I suppose that the words *ante annos fere XL* refer to the statement by Scaliger in his own copy, that he began to make his notes in 1565. This would shew that the words above quoted were written in the year 1605 or thereabouts. The writer cannot therefore be Isaac Voss, who was born in 1618, but he may be Gerhard John Voss (1577—1649).

I find that the notes made by Scaliger in his own copy of Nonius are almost all transcribed into the Vossian copy, which contains nothing that is not to be found either in the Bodleian (Meerman) volume, or in the published works of Scaliger.

The other copy lent to me from the Leyden library belonged to Peter Bondam (1727—1808), whose name it contains with the date 1747. It has his notes from Marquard Gude's collation of the *Guelferbytanus* or Wolfenbüttel MS. (G in L. Müller's edition). Bondam says that this manuscript is *equal in value* to that on which Mercier founded his second edition. No wonder; it is the same manuscript.

I proceed to give, in a very brief form, the hitherto unpublished notes of Scaliger from p. 1 to p. 276 of Mercier's second edition. I hope to publish the rest on a future occasion.

P. 4 6 (For *dixi iturum hominem*). *Eduxi iterum hominem.*

13 24 (For *vetet*). *Decet.* (So afterwards Lachmann.)

14 24 (For *possunt*). *Possum.*

20 6 (*stic garri*). *Sta garri.* (So ed. 1476.)

37 22 (*flent*). *Flebit.*

38 28 *Cura ne omnibus distento corpore expiret viis.*

38 31 (*concavus*). *Concha. Vos istic.* (So Turnebus.)

46 27 (*vulpinare modo et*). *Et* om.

47 11 (*intra privatos muros*). *Intrat.*

48 7 (*quo pransi*). *Neque pransi.*

51 12 (*olim*). *Olli* (attributed to Passerat).

55 23 (*modestum a modico*). *Pro modico.*

66 20 (*testes sunt campi magni*). '*Sunt*' *glossema* ('*Sunt*' *fortasse delendum*, says Quicherat).

71 15 (*efemeridae navali*). *Ephemeride navali:* so Mercier in his second edition.

71 23 (*quod ibi natum sit in quodam loco*). '*In quodam loco*' *glossema redolet.* (So Quicherat).

73 13 (*non tute e conspectu......amolire?*). *Tu te* (and so Mercier[2]).

73 15 (*propere stabulis*). *E stabulis* (and so Bücheler).

74 4 (*aera summa et subducta*). *Aera summata:* but afterwards he proposed *aera summae.*

75 10 (*animam mater* or *anima mater*). *Animam aether:* so Stephanus and Turnebus.

75 27 (*atque*). *Age.*

75 28 (*Erigonis*). *Epigonis*, and so Mercier[2].

79 15 (*pinnari vocant*). *Pinnaria.*

79 16 (*delune pennis*). *Deplume:* but afterwards *delumbe.*

83 20 (*opicillum*). *Pocillum* (and so Turnebus).

84 7 (*in conspicillo adservabam*). *In conspicillod;* and so Gustav Löwe.

84 9 (*Hiberam insulam*). *Hibera insula.*

84 17 (*Pseudolo*). *Dyscolo.*

84 28 (*fidinis*). *Phinidis*, and so Mercier[2].

84 32 *Proinde Dryante* etc.

85 9 (*cuppedia*). *Cupidia.*

89 26 (*calliscerunt*). *Callescuerunt.*

90 16 (*facite exempla eorum*). *Exemplo*; and so Quicherat.

94 5 (*a coxendicibus*). *A* om.

95 13 (*VII*). *XXVII.*

95 14 (*sador*). *Rador*: so Turnebus and others.

96 24 (*dividos*) *Dividuos*: so Passerat, Guyet, Quicherat.

97 5 (*decalanticare*). *F*(*ortasse*) *decalicare.*

102 23 (*nunc nomen iamque*). *Nunc nomen iam iamque*: afterwards he proposed *Nunc Nomentani.*

107 5 (*ipsum propter*). *Ipsum properiter* (and so Quicherat).

108 5 (*mentem hilariam arripiunt*). *Mente hilari eam a.*

115 18 *Grallatores qui gradiuntur, perticae sunt ligneae ab hominis quoque vi ista agitantur, sic illi animi nostri sunt. Calces crura ac pedes nostri etiam κινητοί, sed ab animo moventur.* (See his *Conjectanea*, p. 151.)

118 29 (*Caelius*). *Caecilius*: so Mercier^2.

119 2 (*dum essena hora*). *Dum e scena coronam.*

120 21 (*in tenebris ac suili vivunt*). *In tenebris lasciviunt.*

121 10 (*inscribit*). *Inscribi.*

121 16 (*cedere*). *Laedere*: so Hildebrand, quoted by Lucian Müller.

Ib. (*Pacuvius*). *Laevius.*

123 28 (*quam rem expedi*). *Quare* (and so others).

124 8 (*Caecilius*). *Caelius.*

124 13 (*credas mihi velim*). *Nil velim.*

126 3 (*vitabile ad videndum*). *Ac vitandum.*

127 12 (*quid nunc irascitur*). *Quod*: and so Rutgers ap. L. Müller.

127 17 (*Epinausimacho*). *Pausimacho.* ('Ita feci' says Mercier.^{2})

128 9 (*promittere*). *Permittere.*

128 25 (*Aulularia*). *Vidularia.*

131 10 (*religio*). *Regius*: (and so Mercier^2).

131 22 (*pemma culans*). *Pemma cibus.*

133 11 (*acta aquis calis*). *Atta Aquis Caldis* (and so Mercier^2).

135 7 (*abditis lucis*). *Locis* (and so Mercier^2).

137 30 (*mertaret*). *Mestaret.*

138 2 (*inflammari et re navis*). *Inflammari e Troia* (or *Troes*).

139 23 (*calleti*). *Calles laeti.*

139 32 (*mordicibus et mordicus*). *Mordicitus* (and so Schoppe in his *Suspectae Lectiones*, 1. 4, published 1597).

140 13 *Sperans aetate in eadem Proferre haec posset, mansumque ex ore daturum.*

141 21 (*condensiores*). *Cum densiores* (and so Mercier[2]).

147 8 (*ovagitant*). *Obvagitant.*

148 1 (*de Re Publica*). *De Re Rustica* (and so Lipsius).

148 26 (*sonarum*). *Zonarium* (cited by Quicherat from Munk and Ribbeck).

150 31 (*et dum*). *Haec dum.*

150 53 (*liber totus* or *totius*). *Liberto* (so Mercier[2]).

152 9 (*eos solus supero*). *Eo solo.*

156 6 (*imbecilla non quod ponderitatem*). *Ob* for *quod*, and so afterwards Madvig.

159 38 (*ut verear*). *Ut vereare.*

160 8 (*hunc*). *Suem.*

160 13 (*perficeris*). *Perfectrix*, and so Lachmann.

161 12 (*introibit*). *Introit.*

161 14 (*infamam honestam turpemque*). For *honestam*, *incestam* or *angustam.*

165 11 (*riscus prorsus*). *Rursus.* (*rusus* Mercier[2].)

169 34 (*simat*). *Supat.*

171 18 (*simul*). *Semel*, and so 'docti' ap. Mercier[2].

172 9 (*satiae*). *Satiate.*

174 23 (*nunc quod*). *Numquid.*

174 25 (*namque ut*). *Nam quid*, and so Mercier[2].

175 24 (*operam*). *Opera*, and so Janus Dousa.

177 11 *Supellectilis supellex.* *Cicero in Oratore*, '*verecundus erit usus oratori et quasi supellectilis*' (transferring the word *supellex* to the beginning of the sentence).

180 2 (*qui temnere*). *Qui te tempsere*: and so Janus Dousa.

181 7 The words *ut quaestus sit magnus* Scaliger gives to Nonius, and so Passerat.

182 1 (*vultum alligat quae tristitas?*). *Caligat*: and so Bücheler.

183 26 (*caeleus tihe*). *Caecilius Titthe:* and so Mercier[2].

185 18 (*ullo*). *F*(*ortasse*) *ulto*. And for *Epigonis*, *Erigone*, which Passerat also proposed.

186 9 (*hic vilicor*). *Huic;* and so good MSS.

195 4 (*viride cyma*). *Lurida cyma.*

199 24 (*levi*). *Lene.*

200 9 (*Macco*). *Macco Copone.*

200 20 *Caldissima... Ac lenes splenes solearum atque anseris collus;* or *Caldissima aheno Splenia olorum atque anseris collus.*

200 27 (*in Sercia*). *In Sergium.*

201 28 *An colubrae an volvae an de albo* (or *anne alvi*) *cibus albus Athenis.* (*Volvae* is also a conjecture of Roth.)

202 21 (*fortunata censa*). *Fortunam et censa:* and so Quicherat.

204 22 (*uti serat*). *Ut is edat:* and 23 for *alia spiria*, *vel ospria.*

204 31 (*innato fronte*). *Irritato fronte.*

206 30 (*sucit huic fuldum*). *F*(*ortasse*) *Subjicit hic fulcrum, fulmentas quattuor addit.* (*Subicit* Salmasius.)

208 21 (*virum tu hunc*). *Utrum;* and so Guillelmus.

209 27 (*ioca dicta riisitantis* or *dictari sitantis*). *F*(*ortasse*) *dicteriis iterant.*

210 15 (*hodie*). *Die.*

211 14 *Non luxu.* (*nec luxu* Lachmann, Quicherat.)

211 29 (*et intra libos duos ad dextra duos*). *Et intra libos duos et extra duos.*

213 11 (*Suave summum*). *Suavissimum* (N), *suavisonum* (Sc.), *Suavissimum* also G. J. Voss.

213 13 (*acri crepitantes melos*). *Aeris c. m.*

214 4 (*Lucilius nam quibus et mendae*). *Videtur legendum Lucill. Satyrarum quinto. Mendae omnibus in rebus.*

216 34 (*cum suo obsidio Titanum magnus premebat*). *Quemne sub obsidio Titanum magnus premebat.*

217 34 (*quos misera pertulisti*). *Quos tum misera.*

219 34 (*Dotata* for *Do facta* of MSS.). *Togatis:* so Bothe, with some approval from Ribbeck.

220 4 *Paulisper comedet mediam haec se;* though subsequently he corrected the line differently.

220 32 ‘*Late Loquente*’ *forte nomen fabulae est.* So afterwards Passerat.

221 19 (*facito*). *Forsan* ‘*faciles*’.

223 2 (*Accius*). *Pacuvius:* and so afterwards Scriverius.

223 17 (*neutro Varro*). *Neutro vero.* The conjecture is known to Quicherat as coming from *vir doctus in margine Iunii.*

225 25 Scaliger would insert *Neutri* before *Varro Sexagessi,* altering *spicam* in 26 and 28 to *spicum.* Quicherat, followed by Lucian Müller, inserts *neutri* in 26, before *M. Tullius De Senectute.*

227 26 (*hora*). *Flora.*

227 23 (*terriculata*). *Terricula tua,* and so Mercier [2].

231 9 (*ne agitarem manu tu Pessulus*). *Agitare;* and so afterwards Gerlach. (*Agitare* is not due to Junius, as Quicherat says.)

234 26 (*in acie celebro*). *Vel lege sic ex conjectura:* ‘*Quod ego in acie obiectem vitam crebro bellando aptus sum.* (Mercier [2] and Passerat also conj. *crebro.*)

235 30 *Veterum cecidisse senem tamen unum Tiresiam aequalem constat.*

240 40 *Quod alterius ingenium sicut acetum Aegyptium acrius, alterius sicut mel Hymettium dulcius.*

241 1 (*dimittis*). *Demitis:* attributed to Passerat by Mercier in the manuscript notes for his second edition.

244 21 (*saevo*). *E feno* (but afterwards he conj. *laevo*).

246 3 (*afferre*). *Auferre:* which is good if *eum,* not *vim,* be written in the next line.

248 14 (*a quo qui certasset*). *Alioqui certasset.*

257 39 *Labra labellis Fictricis compono: hoc est cum ipsa ὡδοκοπούμην.*

258 12 (*ille festus desidet*). *Fessus,* and so afterwards Bothe, Spengel, and Quicherat.

260 16 (*qua contendissem ita pervenire*). *Quo contendissem ire, pervenire.*

261 19 (*nomina*). *Nomine:* attributed to Voss by the edd. who adopt it.

262 34 (*quod de nata est modo*). *Quod conata est.*

267 32 (*colligere*). *Confligere:* and so Mercier[2], to whom it is attributed.

In 1583, eighteen years after the appearance of Junius' book, Josias Mercier published anonymously his first edition of Nonius, which he sent to Casaubon, who was then at Geneva. Casaubon writes to Mercier on May 1 of this year[1], saying that he had previously heard of Mercier's great learning, but now had positive testimony of it in his Nonius. The Nonius seems to have laid the foundation of a life-long friendship between Mercier and Casaubon, of which we have several proofs during the subsequent life of the latter[2].

Mercier's book is executed with great modesty. The text is that of Junius: but the editor has kept in view the immense advances which criticism had been making since 1565. His notes are mainly taken from H. Stephanus, Turnebus, Canter, Muretus, Cujas, Junius, Joseph Scaliger, Lipsius, Guillelmus, Carrio, Le Paulmier, Pithou and Daniel; but he also mentions Victorius, Brodaeus, Bongars, Lefèvre (Nicolas Faber), Gifanius and Passerat. Thus the volume gives evidence, not so much of Mercier's talent, as of his industry and conscientiousness in collecting materials. Indirectly it gives a striking idea of the distance at which criticism, at the end of the sixteenth century, has left behind it the criticism of a century before.

It was now comparatively easy to produce a handy and intelligible text of Nonius, and this was done in 1586 by Dénis Godefroi[3] (Dionysius Gothofredus). Godefroi's book, which is little more than a reprint of the Junius-Mercier text, with critical notes added in the margin instead of (as in Mercier) at the end, was reprinted more than once, but adds little to Godefroi's reputation.

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[1] In the first letter published by Almeloveen.

[2] In the preface to his second edition (1614) Mercier speaks of Casaubon as *viri ut in omni eruditionis genere excellentis, ita mihi arctissimis amicitiae et omnium necessitudinum vinculis conjunctissimi.* He was one of Casaubon's French executors.

[3] Born 1549, died 1622. He was a friend both of Casaubon and of Mercier, and succeeded Pacius as professor of law at Geneva in 1585.

In the very year after the appearance of his first edition Mercier was fortunate enough to light upon one of the first-class manuscripts of Nonius, that now known as the Guelferbytanus or Wolfenbüttel MS. Upon this, and aided also by three other inferior manuscripts, one belonging to Nicolas Faber, one to Cujas and the other to Casaubon, Mercier founded a new text of Nonius, which was published at Paris and Sedan in 1614[1]. This edition, which embodies not only many of Mercier's own conjectures, but the results of the labours of many other scholars, was the standard Nonius for more than two centuries, and its paging is still the paging of modern reference. It is needless to add anything to what so many scholars have said as to the excellence of Mercier's text: but two points have, perhaps, not been sufficiently dwelt upon.

(1) Nonius is, I think for the first time, spoken of in terms of strong depreciation. Not only to the scholars of the Renaissance, but to such men as Cujas and Scaliger, it is clear that the fourth century grammarian was an author of real merit in himself, and his book a storehouse of antiquarian and philological information. To Mercier he is only worth considering on account of the passages which he preserves from lost authors. *Scriptoris neque ab eruditione neque a iudicio neque a diligentia commendandi, et quo Latinitas facile carere posset si eos tantum auctores laudasset quorum opera ad nos pervenerunt.* The instinct of the greater scholars was right, that of the lesser scholar was wrong. Nonius, it is now clearly ascertained, does little but record the judgments of much older scholars: but just for this reason his book is a most valuable monument of a criticism which, unscientific as it was, dates from a time when Latin was a living language, and when classical Latin was understood.

(2) The second point to be observed is that Mercier thought

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[1] The Bodleian Library contains the copy in which Mercier made his manuscript notes for the second edition.

the *Victorinus*[1] (or *Guelferbytanus*) the manuscript from which all other European manuscripts were derived. This judgment was erroneous; but it is noticeable as one of the earliest attempts in modern criticism to trace all the existing copies of an author to one source.

In 1685 appeared the *Stricturae Nonianae* and *Animadversiones Nonianae* of Christopher Wase, published at the Clarendon Press in Oxford. But no new edition of Nonius appeared until 1841, for that published at Leipzig in 1824 is a mere reprint of Mercier. Gerlach and Roth did good service in 1841 by founding their new edition upon the Wolfenbüttel, Leyden, and Geneva MSS. Of the Harleian, which they recognized as the oldest MS. then known, they had but little information. They recognized (and this is important) that all known MSS. are originally derived from one lost original.

This was the first edition which gave anything like a satisfactory *apparatus criticus* in the modern sense of the expression. Gerlach and Roth are not sufficiently accurate in their report of readings, and shew a complete ignorance of the editions of 1470 and 1471. There are good things in the book, but there are no signs of general power in dealing with the manuscript material, or appreciating the work of the post-Renaissance scholars. As Quicherat says in his preface (p. xvi.), *quum vitiosos libros religiose exscripserint, diuturnum illum et utilissimum doctorum laborem pro nihilo habuere, ita ut depravatum librariorum culpa auctorem constituendi per conjecturas tum alienas, tum suas, onus lectoribus imponatur.*

The edition of Quicherat in 1872 satisfied, to a considerable extent, though not adequately, a strong demand. His text was an immense improvement on that of Gerlach and Roth: and he had a collation, though an imperfect one, of the Harleian MS. He has made a large number of good conjectures; and (what is very important) he has used the collections of manuscript notes by D'Aurat, Passerat, and Guyet now lying in the Paris Library.

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[1] *Optimi et vetustissimi codicis manuscripti e bibliotheca S. Victoris Parisiensis, ex quo descripta esse quotquot hodie in Europa huius libri exemplaria certissima indicia sunt.*

Of Lucian Müller's edition (1888), Mr Onions spoke at length in the *Classical Review.* It is the work (as need hardly be observed) of a thorough and accomplished Latinist; and, had it not been for certain defects in its *apparatus criticus,* this paper would not have been written.

HENRY NETTLESHIP.

NOTES ON NONIUS BOOK I.

P. 6 18 *Pelicis a graeco vocabulo significantiam sapientes inflexam putant, hoc est ut παλλακίς. Quod si hoc non est, vana compositio nominis videri potest.* Onions (Journal of Philology, 16 p. 163) proposed *vana compositio hominis.* Perhaps *Romana compositio nominis v. p.* 'If *pelex* be not derived from παλλακίς, it is derived from the Latin (*pellicio*).' *Romanus* for *Latinus* is not unknown to Quintilian and other authors: comp. Nonius p. 50 *Romani 'furvum' atrum dicebant.*

16 11 *Ait consulem mihi perum* (or *pelum*) *cedere. In templum cedere* Onions: *imperium cedere* L. Müller. Perhaps *sellam.*

18 26 *Nebulones et tenebriones dicti sunt qui mendaciis et astutiis suis nebulam quandam et tenebras obiciebant, aut quibus ad fugam fugitivis et furta haec erant accommodata et utilia. Fugitivis,* which is omitted by M and Paris. 7665, is bracketed by Müller. Perhaps *aut fugitivi, quibus ad fugam et furta* etc.

23 19 *Procacitas a procando vel poscendo.* As a passage of Cicero is quoted which explains *procare* as = *poscere,* I am disposed to think that *vel poscendo* is a gloss.

26 21 (Cicero Tusc. 3 42) *nihil aliud dicent nisi eam vim quae fiant...voluptates. Qua efficiantur* is read in the text of Cicero: but I am disposed to think that *quae fiant* in Nonius points to *qua effiant.* (For *effio* see Munro on Lucr. 2 1004.)

33 6 (Terence Eun. 1087). The MSS. of Nonius give *hunc vobis comedendum et bibendum et deridendum propino.* The Bembine has *hunc comedendum vobis propino et diridendum:* the other MSS. of Terence *hunc comedendum et deridendum vobis propino.* May the true reading be *hunc comedendum et debibendum vobis propino?* Nonius' reading may have arisen

from *et bibendum* having been written over *debibendum* as a gloss. *Debibere* is read by Mommsen in Solinus 7 27.

38 7 *At libertinus Tricorius* (or *Tricolius*) *Syrus ipse ac mastigias,*

Quicum versipellis fio et quicum commuto omnia.

Tricosus Scaliger: perhaps τρίχωρος, 'of three nations or countries.'

49 26 *Apage in directum a domo nostra istam adsanitatem.* So 'L and H', the rest giving *insanitatem. Adsanitatem* seems to me to mean *absanitatem. Absanus* would resemble *abnormis, absurdus.*

49 29 *Sed et omnia loca clausa et tuta vita dicta praesepia.* Editors omit *vita.* The right reading may perhaps be *sed et omnia l. cl. et tuta ita dicta:* omitting *praesepia.*

64 29 *Propages est series et adfixio.* P has *afflictio:* perhaps *adfictio* is the true reading.

67 19 *Parentactoe adsunt: sed mulierque mulier venuscaput.* As Bücheler has seen, *mulierque mulier* probably means *mulier quae mulier*, 'your true woman': Petronius 42 *mulier quae mulier milvinum genus.* For *venuscaput* I propose *venustas puta:* 'give me a real woman for genuine beauty'. Καὶ οὐ γὰρ εἶπον ὅτι ἐστι καλός· πάντων γὰρ κάλλιστον γυνή.

H. NETTLESHIP.

NOTES IN LATIN LEXICOGRAPHY.

Acceptrix. This word is found in the recently published *Acta Ludorum Saecularium*: P. 659 98, 99 *uti huius sacrifici acceptrices sitis.* In Plautus Truculentus 571 the recent editors have unnecessarily altered *acceptrices* into *factrices.* If it be retained there, we may perhaps assume, as no instances are quoted of it except from Plautus and these *Acta*, that it is archaic.

Actus. Add to the instances given in my "Contributions" the following: *Actus* = (1) the carrying out of a thing in action, practical development; Valerius Maximus 3 2 1 *cum iam initia procursusque virtutis patefecimus, actum ipsum persequamur*: 3 2 20 *ut humanae virtutis actum exequamur*: so abs. = action, Seneca De Vita Beata 4 2 *invicta vis animi, placida in actu*; *ib.* Ep. 85 31 32; 120 11. (2) A mode of carrying on or conducting: Val. Max. 6 3 3 *inhonestum vitae actum.* (3) Action on the stage: Val. Max. 2 6 7 *mimis...quorum argumenta maiore ex parte stuprorum actus continent.* (4) An act or proceeding: Val. Max. 3 3 Ext. 4 *quia tam forti fine industrem professionis actum comprobavit*: 6 5 5 *cuius ad alium industrem actum progrediar.*

Aënator = a trumpeter, or a player on cymbals. This form is found in the *Acta Ludorum Saecularium*, and also, as Mommsen observes, in C. I. L. 10 5173, Paulus p. 20 (Müller) according to the Munich MS.; Seneca Apocol. 12 (where the best MSS. give *senatores*) and Ep. 84 10 (where they give *venatoribus*): Georges also quotes Ammianus 16 12 36. The form *aeneator*. I suppose from *aëneus*, is often found in the glossaries: Gloss. Vat. p. 12 3 3 Goetz, *aeneatores tubicines*: Gloss. Sang. p. 204 18 *aeneatores cornu vel calamo cantantes*: Gloss. Lat. Gr. p. 12

3, 4 has both forms, *aeneator σαλπικτής, aenatores κυμβαλοκρουσταί.*

Arceo = to confine: add to the instances in the lexx. Val. Max. 5 8 5 *licuit...inclusum arcere.*

Ast = if. *Acta Ludorum Saecularium* p. 662 125 *Iuno regina, ast quid est quod melius siet P. R. Quiritibus.* (See "Contributions" s.v.)

Avidus futuri (Horace A. P. 172). In my "Contributions" I have endeavoured to shew from Seneca that this expression means "over-anxious about the morrow," and have argued subsequently in this *Journal* that Horace is translating a phrase of Epicurus, *δεόμενος τῆς αὔριον.* The words may further be illustrated from Seneca De Brev. Vitae 8 8 *futuri desiderio laborat, praesentium taedio: ib.* 9 1 *expectatio quae pendet ex crastino perdit hodierna:* Ep. 92 23 *futuro non indigere:* 101 8 *cupiditas futuri exedens animum.*

Cognomen. In the volume of essays by various scholars recently published in honour of Wölfflin I collected some instances of the non-legal use of this word. I now add the following. *Cognomen* = (1) another or a second name of a person: Val. Max. 3 4 3 (of Servius Tullius) *servili cognomine:* 8 7 2 (*Pythagoras*) *quo cognomine censeretur interrogatus, non se sapientem sed amatorem sapientiae......edidit.* Of a country: Justin 7 1 1 *Macedonia Emathia cognominatur.* Of a thing, Pliny 22 114 *regium cognominatum arquatum morbum.* (2) A distinguishing epithet: Pliny 10 40 *pici Martio cognomine insignes:* so 13 4, 56, 112: 14 25: 18 72, 219: 29 5, and often elsewhere in Pliny. (3) A title: Justin 15 2 11 *Ptolemaeus... rex ab exercitu cognominatur.*

= *nomen.* Of a mountain: Val. Max. 1 5 9 *montem cui Leto cognomen erat.* Of an animal, Pliny 8 11 (*elephantos*) *celebres cognominibus fuisse* (e.g. *Surus, Aiax, Patroclus*): but in speaking of dogs *ib.* 146 he uses *nomen.*

Commone facere. So the word is written (*commone faciundos*) in the *Acta Ludorum Saecularium* Tav. A 65. Compare Lucr. 6 962 *facit are,* where Munro quotes Cato R. R. 157 9 *ferve bene facito:* Varro R. R. 3 4 1 *excande me fecerunt,* 2 9 13 *consue quoque faciunt:* Seneca De Vita Beata 26 2, where A gives *obstupe faciunt.* Perhaps this spelling should be adopted in all similar cases, e.g. *putre facio.*

Deluere should be restored to Seneca Ep. 84 2 from the Paris MS. for *diluere; altera (res) solvet ac deluet.*

Deruere should be restored to Nonius p. 96 (*demoliri deruere*) from L¹ and other MSS.

Detractivus, depreciating, Schol. in Persium 2 63.

Distinguo = to denote: Nonius p. 52 *vestibula sub ea proprietate distincta.*

Ergo with the genitive, "on account of". *Acta Ludorum Saecularium* p. 659, l. 105, 106. This use is archaic: Cato R. R. 139, 141 *harumce rerum ergo* in a similar formula. It is also found in poetry.

Gausapus. This masculine form (the usual form being *gausapa* or *gausapum*) should be added to the lexx. from Gloss. Lat. Gr. p. 32 Goetz.

Honoratus = *honorificus.* This use may have arisen from the conjunction of *honoratus* with words such as *locus, sedes*: e.g. Val. Max. 4 5 Ext. 2 *honoratissimus locus*: Tacitus has *sedes honorata, honorata militia.* In Ov. M. 15 616, *At proceres, quoniam muros intrare vetaris, Ruris honorati tantum tibi, Cipe, dedere* etc., *honorati* still retains its passive force.

Something of this passive force lingers also in the adverb *honorate* = *ita ut honoretur*: Velleius 2 129 4 *quam illum et honorate nec secure continet*: Val. Max. 2 10 2 *filium eius honoratissime excepit*: 5 1 Ext. 3 *quo honoratius exciperentur*: Justin 5 4 13 *utrum contumeliosius eum expulerint an revocaverint honoratius.*

In the following examples the transition from the active to the passive is complete: Livy 27 10 6 *quam potuit honoratissimo decreto*: Val. Max. 8 14 2 *similiter honoratus animus erga poetam Accium D. Bruti*: 5 1 Ext. 3 *parum honoratum de se sermonem habuisse*: 8 15 9 *vim honorati iudicii admirabilem*: Tacitus G. 11 *honoratissimum adsensus genus est armis laudare.* Another instance should be added from Quintilian (?) Decl. 388 (p. 434 Ritter) where the best MSS. give *honorata viri iudicia*, altered by Schulting into *honorantia.*

Legio in the old sense of "army". *Acta Ludorum Saecula-*

rium p. 659 95 *populo Romano Quiritium legionibusque populi Romani.*

The use of *macte*, not *macti*, with the plural, is shewn by the *Acta Ludorum Saecularium* to have been the right one, p. 659 98, 99, 143—145, *macte hac agna femina estote fitote* is addressed to all the gods. An instance of the singular is *macte his libis libandis esto*, addressed to Apollo. The usage seems to prove, as Mommsen remarks, that *macte* is an adverb, not a vocative.

Mixtura. Add to the instances in the lexx. Val. Max. 5 8 5 *ut...hanc severitatem clementiae suae mixtura temperent.*

Momentana, a balance for weighing small coin: add to the instances in Georges, Scholia to Persius 4 10.

Nominatio in the general sense of "term": Nonius p. 56 *Graeca nominatio.*

Nutrimenta = fuel. Add to the lexx. Val. Max. 2 4 5 *quae fors obtulerit nutrimentis ignem evocant:* 3 2 7 *vicum suum contractis undique nutrimentis ignis incendit.*

Obnoxius of a prisoner: add to the instances in my "Contributions" Nonius p. 70 *quasi devotum vel obnoxium.*

Ostentatio = the meaning of a word, Nonius p. 51 *sub hac ostentatione posuisse.*

Pareo = *appareo:* add to the lexx. Nonius p. 48 *genus officii quod magistratibus paret.*

Prodigivae hostiae, Acta Ludorum Saecularium p. 654 91. Mommsen quotes Festus p. 250 *prodiguae hostiae quae consumuntur*, and compares the parallel forms *vacuus vacivus, nocuus nocivus.* Perhaps however *prodigivae* should be read in Festus.

Prohibitio in the absolute sense of a *veto* or prohibition: Servius on Aen. 10 331 *post Iovis prohibitionem.*

Repraesento = to give an adequate idea of a thing: Val. Max. 2 7 6 *fore ut...magis imbecillitatem ingenii mei detegam quam vestram virtutem...repraesentem:* 3 2 19 *divum Iulium, certissimam verae virtutis imaginem, repraesentemus:* 6 5 Ext. 2 *alterius...prudentia referenda est, ut alterius repraesentari iustitia possit:* so 6 6 4.

Satirographus: add to the instances in Georges the Scholia to Persius 1 123.

Secta = way or path: add to the lexx. Val. Max. 4 7 2.

Semicrudus versus, Scholia to Persius 1 93.

Sensatus: add to Georges Scholia to Persius 1 106.

Superciliosus: add to Georges Scholia to Persius 5 2, *superciliosa poemata.*

Tossillae (see "Contributions" s.v.): this spelling is given by the best MS. (the Bamberg) in Pliny 37 44.

Trimalchio = τρὶς ἀηδής (see "Contributions" s.v. *Malchio*). This explanation was long ago given by Meursius, *Exercitationes Criticae* 2 p. 44.

Vita in the sense of the progressive activity of man, the spirit of civilization: Pliny 14 114 *adeo nihil intemptatum vitae fuit*: *ib.* 150 *nec segniter in eo vita elaboravit*: 15 105 *nec cessat in veneficiis vita*: 16 56 *nihil non experiente vita*: 18 74 *panem ex hordeo antiquis usitatum vita damnavit*: 19 4 *audax vita et scelerum plena*: 25 5 *Mithridates vero diligentissimus vitae*: so *ib.* 7: 28 6 *ne vita tui oblivisceretur*: 33 1 *quaerente vita aurum, argentum*: *ib.* 147 *nec copia argenti tantum furit vita*: 34 171 *mirari succurrit experientiam vitae, ne faece quidem...intemptata*: 35 165 *quid non excogitat vita fractis etiam testis utendo!*

H. NETTLESHIP.

EMENDATIONS OF CATULLUS LXIII 54 AND LXV 402.

In the *Journal of Philology* XVIII. 144 sq. I discussed the unmetrical line which still disfigures the Attis of Catullus

LXIV 53 sqq.

> ut aput niuem et ferarum gelida stabula forem
> et earum *omnia* adirem furibunda latibula

and I expressed a feeling that *omnia* had a genuine ring. To preserve it, I threw out the perhaps too hardy suggestion that here, as in Virgil, 'omnia' was a disyllable and that 'ut omnia adirem' might then be read. Now I think it may be saved in another way. One of the commonest corruptions in the MSS. of Catullus is the assimilation of the terminations of successive words as 'omnium celerrim*um* (for -us) 4. 2, septimi*os* suos 45. 1, and other examples cited by me in *Journal of Philology* XVII. p. 267. If 'furibund*a*' (fem. sing. as Baehrens rightly takes it, compare *Journal of Philology* ib. p. 243) attracted 'latibulū' to 'latibul*a*,' 'omne' was bound to follow suit. Catullus uses *omnis* in the singular in the same sense as the plural; 'omne genus' 114. 3 'omni—modo' 99. 12 'omni—culpa' 91. 9, 10; and 'latibulum' is of course classical in the singular. The loss of *ut* after 'ear*ū*' is easy; and has indeed a parallel in 55. 30 as I would emend it 'quos uinctos, Cameri, <ut> mihi dicares.'

I would read therefore

> et earum <ut> omn*e* adirem furibunda latibul*um*.

LXV 401 sqq.

> optauit genitor primaeui funera nati
> liber ut innuptae poteretur flore *nouercae*.

These lines have generally been explained by a crime which Sallust imputes to Catiline; *Catil.* 15 'quod ea nubere illi dubitabat, timens priuignum adultum aetate, pro certo creditur (Catilina) necato filio uacuam domum scelestis nuptiis patefecisse.' But Catiline killing his son to marry Aurelia Orestilla does not justify Catullus in making a father desire his son's death in order to have unrestricted commerce with his unmarried step-mother. To what straits *nouercae* has driven its defenders may be seen from Ellis's and Riese's notes. The first writes "nouercae expresses the new bride's relations to her husband's former children." These 'children' are an invention of the commentator. The only child that Catullus mentions is one to whom the new bride could, from the nature of the case, never be a step-mother, whether married or unmarried. The second provides us with another explanation which he calls 'most simple' and wonders has occurred to nobody before. Reading 'uti nuptae' after Maehly, he refers 'optauit' to the curse of Theseus upon Hippolytus, 'liber' he takes to mean 'durch den Sohn ungestört' and 'poteretur flore' 'als Gattin haben'; then 'nuptae' must denote Phaedra's relation to Theseus, 'nouercae' her relation to Hippolytus. The necessity of this last interpretation seems however to have proved the last straw to the editor himself; for he admits that it is 'somewhat artificial' and that Baehrens' conjecture 'hinc nuptae—nouellae' deserves attention. *nouercae* then is corrupt. Under its corruption it must conceal some word which contained the motive for the father's desiring the death of his own son. This motive must be similar to that suggested by the situation which is revealed to us in lxvii. 19 sqq. 'primum igitur uirgo quod fertur tradita nobis | falsum est. non illam uir prior attigerat. | ...sed pater illius gnati uiolasse cubile dicitur et miseram conscelerasse domum.' The object of the father's guilty passion must be the son's actual or intended *wife*. The lost word must have expressed this relationship, and have expressed it as plainly and directly as is required by the context and the habit of the author. Further the word should be a rare one and of form similar to 'nouercae.' There is one word only, so far as I know, that satisfies these conditions. It is *nuriclae.* 'nuricula' the diminutive of 'nurus' appears to be recorded only once from extant Latin documents, a somewhat late imperial inscription found at Beneventum, see the lexx. s.v. It has thus a slight advantage over 'femella,' 'zonula,' 'lecticulus' and many other diminutives which we know only from single passages of Catullus. The shorter form *-cla*, the only one which the metre would here admit, has many parallels in Latin verse, and not in verse only. Thus 'circlos' Virgil, 'surclos' Varro, 'oraclum' Catullus (the MSS. 'oradum'), 'spectaclum' Prop. (the best MSS. 'spectandum' or 'spectaculum') 'aedicla' Inscript., 'anicla' Prudentius and probably to be restored (for MSS. 'amica') in [Tibullus] Priap. 2. 26 (Housman). Diminutives are not excluded from the heroics of Catullus; see 88, 103, 104, 131, 316, 331 of this poem. And, although this is no doubt a matter only of taste, the pitying emphasis of 'nuricula' appears in keeping with the tone of this passage. It may be added that 'nurus,' like 'gener' (Ellis's note ad loc.), is not limited to the sense of an actual daughter-in-law (see Dig. 38, 10, 6); and so there is no inconsistency in the addition of 'innuptae.'

J. P. POSTGATE.

THE TWO WAYS IN HERMAS AND XENOPHON.

THIS article contains a study of the *Two Ways* in Hermas, Xenophon and other writers, followed by further notes upon Hilgenfeld's proposal to disintegrate the *Shepherd of Hermas*, and upon a saying of the *Didaché*. Cf. *The Didaché compared with the Shepherd of Hermas*, and *Traces of a Saying of the Didaché*, in the *Journal of Philology*, vol. XVIII. 297—325 and vol. XIX. 148—172 respectively.

A. *The Guides in the Two Ways.*

The *Teaching* introduces the *Two Ways* thus:

ὁδοὶ δύο εἰσί, μία τῆς ζωῆς καὶ μία τοῦ θανάτου· διαφορὰ δὲ πολλὴ μεταξὺ τῶν δύο ὁδῶν. ἡ μὲν οὖν ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς ἐστὶν αὕτη· πρῶτον ἀγαπήσεις τὸν θεὸν τὸν ποιήσαντά σε· δεύτερον, τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν.

Hermas in *Mand.* vi. 2. 1, having spoken of the *Two Ways*, adds *δύο εἰσὶν ἄγγελοι μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, εἷς τῆς δικαιοσύνης καὶ εἷς τῆς πονηρίας.*

Von Gebhardt's Latin fragment of the *Teaching* commences,

Viae duae sunt in seculo, vitae et mortis, lucis et tenebrarum. In his constituti sunt Angeli duo, unus aequitatis, alter iniquitatis. Distantia autem magna est duarum viarum. Via ergo vitae haec est &c.

Compare in *Epist. Barn.* 18,

μεταβῶμεν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ ἑτέραν γνῶσιν καὶ διδαχήν. ὁδοὶ δύο εἰσὶν διδαχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας, ἥ τε τοῦ φωτὸς καὶ ἡ τοῦ σκότους. διαφορὰ δὲ πολλὴ τῶν δύο ὁδῶν. ἐφ' ἧς μὲν γάρ εἰσιν τεταγμένοι φωταγωγοὶ ἄγγελοι τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐφ' ἧς δὲ ἄγγελοι τοῦ Σατανᾶ[1].

These angels do not properly belong to the *Teaching*, in which the guides in the right and wrong ways are true and false teachers, as appears from the sayings:

Did. iv. 1—2 *τέκνον μου, τοῦ λαλοῦντός σοι τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ μνησθήσῃ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας· τιμήσεις δὲ αὐτὸν ὡς κύριον κ.τ.λ. ἐκζητήσεις δὲ καθ' ἡμέραν τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν ἁγίων, ἵνα ἐπαναπαῇς τοῖς λόγοις αὐτῶν.*

Did. vi. 1 *ὅρα μή τίς σε πλανήσῃ ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς διδαχῆς, ἐπεὶ παρεκτὸς θεοῦ σε διδάσκει.*

Barnabas, having interpolated angelic guides, omits the latter passage and perverts the former, extracting from it the duty of teaching others (19. 10 ΜΝΗϹΘΉϹῌ *ἡμέραν κρίσεως* ΝΥΚΤὸϹ ΚΑὶ ἩΜέΡΑϹ...*ἢ διὰ λόγου κοπιῶν καὶ πορευόμενος εἰς τὸ παρακαλέσαι κ.τ.λ.*), when it is an injunction to the *τέκνον* under instruction to rest upon the sound words of his elders in the faith. In 21. 7 he betrays his knowledge of the true form of the precept by his *μνημονεύετέ μου*, Remember *τοῦ λαλοῦντος*.

One of the recognised marks of interpolation is uncertainty as to the place of the words interpolated. In the Latin fragment the angels come in before "Distantia autem magna est duarum viarum," and the fragment then continues like the Greek of Bryennius. Barnabas on the contrary sets his angels after *διαφορὰ δὲ πολλὴ μεταξὺ τῶν δύο ὁδῶν* and in logical connexion with the clause, thus breaking its connexion with what follows in the Latin fragment as in the *Teaching*. The angels really belong to a transcendental form of the *Two Ways*, and no proper place can be found for them in the original *Teaching*, with which later writers associated them, as seemed best to each. It is further obvious that the idea of a way of "light" or "darkness," as in *Epist. Barn.* and the Latin fragment, is complex and secondary, while the designations "way of death," "way of life," are simple and primary. Hermas (we shall see) knows the various titles of the "ways," and he makes angels the mentors of the neophytes in *Vis.* iii. 5. 4 *νέοι εἰσὶν ἐν τῇ πίστει καὶ πιστοί· νουθετοῦνται δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγγέλων εἰς τὸ ἀγαθοποιεῖν.* It is probable that *Epist. Barn.* was one of his sources.

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[1] Prov. 4. 18, 19 (Sept.) assumes that men walk in the light and stumble in darkness without guides. Compare St John 11. 5.

B. *The myth of the Choice of Hercules.*

I pass on to the famous story of Prodicus on the choice of Hercules, quoted by Justin Martyr in *Apol.* II. 11 *τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἐπὶ τρίοδόν τινα ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν βαδίζοντα εὑρεῖν τήν τε Ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν Κακίαν ἐν γυναικῶν μορφαῖς φαινομένας κ.τ.λ.* Compare *ib.* 2 *διὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ διδαχήν, τὸ διδασκάλιον τῆς θείας ἀρετῆς ὡμολόγησεν.* I have been led to the conclusion that the story in Xenophon was known also to Hermas, that he used it freely in the *Shepherd*, and that it explains things in his work which were hard to be understood.

I find it also in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, especially in the following places:

Test. Aser init....περὶ δύο προσώπων κακίας καὶ ἀρετῆς. ...Δύο ὁδοὺς ἔδωκεν ὁ θεὸς τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων κ.τ.λ. [6... *γνωρίζοντες τοὺς ἀγγέλους Κυρίου καὶ τοῦ Σατανᾶ.* Compare *Epist. Barn.* 18.]

Test. Jud. 20 *δύο πνεύματα σχολάζουσι τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, τὸ τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ τὸ τῆς πλάνης* [1 Joh. 4. 6], *καὶ μέσον ἐστὶ τὸ τῆς συνέσεως τοῦ νοός, οὗ ἐὰν θέλῃ κλῖναι.*

Here we have a picture of the Spirit of the understanding of the mind at the dividing of the ways, solicited by the Spirit of truth and the Spirit of error; and in the former passage we have express mention of the two ways, and the antithesis *Κακία, Ἀρετή.* The two angels *μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* in Mand. vi. obviously correspond to these two spirits; and we shall find that Hermas connects them with Virtue and Vice in the story of Prodicus, and that he makes use, not only of the story itself in Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, but of some other things also in that work. As a link between "angel" and "spirit" notice in Mand. xi. 9 *ὁ ἄγγελος τοῦ προφητικοῦ πνεύματος.*

The *Two Ways* are expounded by Hermas in *Mand.* vi. 1—2:

1. 1 ἐνετειλάμην σοι, φησίν, ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἐντολῇ ἵνα φυλάξῃς τὴν πίστιν καὶ τὸν φόβον καὶ τὴν ἐγκράτειαν...διπλαῖ γάρ εἰσιν αἱ ἐνέργειαι αὐτῶν· κεῖνται οὖν ἐπὶ δικαίῳ καὶ ἀδίκῳ... 2 τὸ γὰρ δίκαιον ὀρθὴν ὁδὸν ἔχει, τὸ δὲ ἄδικον στρεβλήν....3 ἡ γὰρ στρεβλὴ ὁδὸς τρίβους οὐκ ἔχει, ἀλλ' ἀνοδίας καὶ προσκόμματα πολλά, καὶ τραχεῖά ἐστι καὶ ἀκανθώδης.

2. 1 ἄκουε, νῦν, φησί, περὶ τῆς πίστεως. δύο εἰσὶν ἄγγελοι μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, εἷς τῆς δικαιοσύνης, καὶ εἷς τῆς πονηρίας. 2 πῶς οὖν, φημί, κύριε, γνώσομαι τὰς αὐτῶν ἐνεργείας, ὅτι ἀμφότεροι ἄγγελοι μετ' ἐμοῦ κατοικοῦσιν; 3 ἄκουε, φησί, καὶ σύνιε. ὁ μὲν τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἄγγελος τρυφερός ἐστι καὶ αἰσχυντηρὸς καὶ πραῢς καὶ ἡσύχιος. ὅταν οὖν οὗτος ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν σου ἀναβῇ, εὐθέως λαλεῖ μετὰ σοῦ περὶ δικαιοσύνης, περὶ ἁγνείας, περὶ σεμνότητος καὶ περὶ αὐταρκείας καὶ περὶ παντὸς ἔργου δικαίου καὶ περὶ πάσης ἀρετῆς ἐνδόξου. ταῦτα πάντα ὅταν εἰς τὴν καρδίαν σου ἀναβῇ, γίνωσκε ὅτι ὁ ἄγγελος τῆς δικαιοσύνης μετὰ σοῦ ἐστί. 4 ὅρα νῦν καὶ τοῦ ἀγγέλου τῆς πονηρίας τὰ ἔργα. πρῶτον πάντων ὀξύχολός ἐστι κ.τ.λ.

By his reference here to *Mand.* i. in introducing the *Two Ways* he points to the order of the *Teaching*, in which the ways of life and death are mentioned just before πρῶτον ἀγαπήσεις τὸν θεὸν τὸν ποιήσαντά σε, which corresponds to *Mand.* i. He does not call them expressly ways of "life" and "death," but he hints at the one title by his repeated use of the phrase ζήσῃ τῷ θεῷ, and at the other by *Mand.* xii. 2. 3 θανατώδεις γάρ εἰσιν αἱ ἐπιθυμίαι αὗται, and by *Sim.* ix. 19. 1 τούτοις δὲ μετάνοια οὐκ ἐστί, θάνατος δὲ ἐστί, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ μέλανές εἰσι...*ib.* 21. 4 ταῖς γυναιξὶ ταῖς ἀποφερομέναις τὴν ζωὴν αὐτῶν. Compare *Mand.* vii. 5 τῶν οὖν φοβουμένων αὐτὸν καὶ φυλασσόντων τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ, ἐκείνων ἡ ζωή ἐστι παρὰ τῷ θεῷ. τῶν δὲ μὴ φυλασσόντων τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ, οὐδὲ ζωὴ ἐν αὐτοῖς. *Sim.* v. 6. 3 τὰς τρίβους τῆς ζωῆς.

διπλαῖ γάρ εἰσιν αἱ ἐνέργειαι αὐτῶν] He sees two ways everywhere. There is a good as well as a bad extravagance: *Mand.* iv. 2. 2 τὸ ἀγαθὸν πολυτελῶς ἐργάζεται: *Sim.* i. 10 αὕτη ἡ πολυτέλεια καλὴ καὶ ἱλαρά. There are δισσοὶ φόβοι (*Mand.* vii. 4). There are two kinds of *ἐγκράτεια*: *Mand.* viii. 1 *τὰ κτίσματα τοῦ θεοῦ διπλᾶ ἐστί· καὶ γὰρ ἡ ἐγκράτεια διπλῆ ἐστίν...ἐὰν γὰρ ἐγκρατεύσῃ τὸ ἀγαθὸν μὴ ποιεῖν, ἁμαρτίαν μεγάλην ἐργάζῃ.* This agrees with Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* IV. 9 *οὐκ ἔστι δ' οὐδ' ἡ ἐγκράτεια ἀρετή, ἀλλά τις μικτή* and with *Test. Neph.* 8 *καὶ γὰρ αἱ ἐντολαὶ τοῦ νόμου διπλαῖ εἰσί...καιρὸς γὰρ συνουσίας...καὶ καιρὸς ἐγκρατείας* [Eccl. 3. 5] ...*δύο ἐντολαί εἰσι· καὶ εἰ μὴ γένωνται ἐν τάξει αὐτῶν, ἁμαρτίαν παρέχουσιν. οὕτως ἐστὶ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐντολῶν.* Compare *Test. Aser* 1 *διὰ τοῦτο πάντα δύο εἰσίν, ἓν κατέναντι τοῦ ἑνός* [Ecclus. 36. 15]. *ὁδοὶ δύο κ.τ.λ.* We may think that Hermas likewise referred to Eccl. and Ecclus. There are two aspects of *λύπη* also (*Mand.* x. 2), and two opposite kinds of *τρυφή*: *Sim.* vi. 5. 7 *εἰσὶν δὲ καὶ τρυφαὶ σώζουσαι.*

τὸ γὰρ δίκαιον ὀρθὴν ὁδὸν ἔχει, τὸ δὲ ἄδικον στρεβλήν] Straight and crooked are primary epithets of the two ways. Pythagoras, "Samo insula ortus," represented the ways graphically by the letter Y, according to Persius *Sat.* III. 56—7 (ed. Otto Jahn),

> Et tibi quae Samios diduxit littera ramos,
> Surgentem dextro monstravit limite callem.

Lactantius in *Div. Inst.* 6. 3, quoted by von Gebhardt at the end of Harnack's *Lehre der* 12 *Apostel* (1884), attempts to improve upon this conceit of the "philosophers." He writes "Forma quoque ipsarum viarum non ita est ut illi putaverunt. Quid enim opus est Y littera in rebus contrariis atque diversis? Sed altera illa melior conversa est ad solis ortum, altera illa deterior ad occasum." The one (he says) leads to light, the other straight away from it to darkness. In *Epitome*, cap. 59, he remarks upon the different views of the *Two Ways*, "Philosophi minus recte...Melius Poetae...Nos utique rectius." If then we find in a Christian writer an addition, as of the two angels of Hermas, to the *Two Ways* according to the *Teaching*, it is not at once to be inferred that there was an older form of this with the angels. It is quite as likely *a priori* that he would have drawn from more than one source; and there is no reason why he should not have had recourse to the heathen "philosophi" and "poetae" like Lactantius.

Clem. Alex. writes in *Paed.* I. 9 (Potter 148, end) that the straight way is hinted at by the *ἰῶτα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ.* Such play upon the letters may well have been a commonplace in school teaching and familiar to every one. When therefore Hermas writes *ἐπορεύθησαν ἐν τῇ εὐθύτητι τοῦ* Κυρίου (*Vis.* iii. 4. 3), he may possibly be alluding to the name Ἰησοῦς. As it is nowhere mentioned in the *Shepherd*, we might expect to find some such disguised reference to it therein.

ἀνοδίας] *Vis.* i. 1. 3 *δι' ἀνοδίας τινός*. *Vis.* iii. 7. 1 *ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ εἰς τὰς ἀνοδίας*. Symmachus reads *δι' ἀνοδίας* in Ps. 107. 40 and Job 12. 24 (*Hexapla* ed. Field).

δύο εἰσὶν ἄγγελοι μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου] Hermas shews that his angels are doubles of Virtue and Vice, if we may know them by their works, Ἁγνεία, Σεμνότης, Ὀξυχολία, Ἀφροσύνη and the like. The works of the angel of righteousness are every kind of virtue,...*περὶ παντὸς ἔργου δικαίου καὶ περὶ πάσης ἀρετῆς ἐνδόξου*[2], and he is *τρυφερός* as the virgins or Virtues in *Sim.* ix. are *τρυφεραί* (p. 12). Hermas connects *ἀρετή* and *δικαιοσύνη* in *Mand.* iii. 3. 1 and *Sim.* viii. 9. 3; and still more closely by the remarkable phrase *πᾶσα ἀρετὴ δικαιοσύνης* in *Mand.* i. 2; *Sim.* vi. 1. 4; *Sim.* x. 1. 2. This is explained by *Eth. Nic.* v. 1 *καὶ παροιμιαζόμενοί φαμεν "ἐν δὲ δικαιοσύνῃ συλλήβδην πᾶσ' ἀρετὴ ἔνι."*

Greg. Nyss. *de Vita Mosis* (Migne *P. G.* vol. 44. 337—40) writes, on the authority of tradition, *ἄγγελόν τινα...παρακαθιστᾶν εἰς συμμαχίαν τῇ ἑκάστου ζωῇ·* a wicked demon stands opposite, and the man *ἐν μέσῳ τῶν δύο*, the angel shewing him *τὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀγαθά*. Compare Basil *Hom. in Ps.* i. (Migne *P. G.* vol. 29. 221) *ἔτι ἐπὶ τῆς πρώτης ἡλικίας ὄντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὔτε ἐν κακίᾳ ἐσμὲν οὔτε ἐν ἀρετῇ*[3]*...δύο γάρ εἰσιν ὁδοὶ ἐναντίαι ἀλλήλαις· ἡ μὲν πλατεῖα καὶ εὐρύχωρος, ἡ δὲ στενὴ καὶ τεθλιμμένη· καὶ δύο ὁδηγοί, ἑκάτερος πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐπιστρέφειν ἐπιχειρῶν. ἔχει μὲν οὖν ἡ λεία ὁδὸς καὶ πρανὴς ὁδηγὸν ἀπατηλόν, δαίμονα πονηρόν... ἡ δὲ τραχεῖα καὶ ἀνάντης ἄγγελον ἀγαθόν, διὰ τῶν ἐπιπόνων τῆς*

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[2] Lactantius in *Div. Inst.* 6. 3 places a guide on each way, "alterum honoratum, qui *virtutibus* ac bonis praesit, alterum damnatum, qui *vitiis* ac malis." In Hermas the angel of *δικαιοσύνη* may be said to be the angel of *πᾶσα ἀρετή*.

[3] The letter Y or Ⴗ (p. 247) represents this also by beginning from below with a single stroke. See Conington on Pers. *Sat.* III. 56. Other writers are named as referring to the *Littera Pythagorae* in a note on Lact. *l. c.* in Migne (*P. L.* vol. 6. 641).

ἀρετῆς πρὸς τὸ μακάριον τέλος τοὺς ἑπομένους ἄγοντα. Thus he brings together the Law, the Gospel and the ethics of the "philosophers," with which we know that he was acquainted. He uses λεία and τραχεῖα like Hesiod (p. 252), and ἐπιπόνων κ.τ.λ. corresponding to his ἱδρῶτα.

It is the practice of Hermas to reproduce himself in all manner of different forms, but not without a hint at the connexion of one part of his work with another. Thus he connects the evil and the good Ἐπιθυμίαι with his two Angels by the phrase τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τῆς δικαιοσύνης (*Mand.* xii. 2. 4); and again by ἐργάσῃ δικαιοσύνην καὶ ἀρετὴν κ.τ.λ. (*ib.* 3. 4), where he alludes also to *Mand.* i.

He returns to the story of Prodicus in *Sim.* ix., where the twelve virgins are a dodecad of Virtues, from Πίστις to Ἀγάπη, and the twelve women in black a dodecad of Vices, from Ἀπιστία to Μῖσος 15. 2, 3. These convey the stones to their places in the tower (4. 8) and away to the mountains whence they came (9. 6) respectively. It was here that I first saw a trace of the story of the choice of Hercules. Then I noticed an express reference to the *Two Ways* in connexion with the stones of the tower in *Vis.* iii. 7. 1 τοὺς δὲ ἑτέρους λίθους οὓς εἶδες μακρὰν ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου ῥιπτομένους καὶ πίπτοντας εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ κυλιομένους ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ εἰς τὰς ἀνοδίας[4], οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ πεπιστευκότες μέν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς διψυχίας αὐτῶν ἀφίουσιν τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτῶν τὴν ἀληθινήν· δοκοῦντες οὖν βελτίονα ὁδὸν δύνασθαι εὑρεῖν πλανῶνται καὶ ταλαιπωροῦσιν περιπατοῦντες ἐν ταῖς ἀνοδίαις. The uses of the word ἀρετή mentioned above made the reference to the story still plainer. The references to it in *Test.* 12 *Patr.* and the connexion of this with the *Shepherd* were noticed later. The virgins and the women in black are also holy and wicked spirits (*Sim.* ix. 13. 2; 18. 3), and thus correspond to the spirits of truth and error in *Test. Jud.* 20. *Sim.* ix. 13. 8—9 speaks of some as seduced by the Vices, and some as not deceived by them, ἀνεπείσθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν ὧν εἶδες...εὐμόρφων...οἱ δὲ μὴ ἀπατηθέντες τῷ κάλλει τῶν γυναικῶν τούτων κ.τ.λ. In chap. 14. 1—2 those who cast off τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τῶν γυναικῶν τούτων are said to *walk* (πορευθῶσιν) in the works of the virgins.

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[4] Compare in *Mand.* vi. 1. 3 ἀλλ' ἀνοδίας κ.τ.λ. (p. 246).

C. *The Vigil of Hermas with the Virgins.*

The story of Prodicus helps to explain one of the most difficult things in the *Shepherd*, the vigil of Hermas with the virgins (*Sim.* ix. 11). In order to shew this we must quote some of Xenophon's expressions in *Mem. Socr.* II. 1. 21 sq. Notice especially ΤΗ͂Ϲ ΜῈΝ ΝΥΚΤῸϹ ὙΒΡΊΖΟΥϹΑ. The reader will supply the missing links:

Virtue and Vice are described as *τὴν μὲν ἑτέραν εὐπρεπῆ τε ἰδεῖν καὶ ἐλευθέριον φύσει, κεκοσμημένην τὸ μὲν χρῶμα καθαρειότητι...ἐσθῆτι δὲ λευκῇ, τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν τεθραμμένην μὲν εἰς πολυσαρκίαν...ἐσθῆτα δὲ ἐξ ἧς ἂν μάλιστα ἡ ὥρα διαλάμποι.* Vice says to Hercules...*ἐὰν οὖν ἐμὲ φίλην ποιήσῃ, τὴν ἡδίστην τε καὶ ῥᾴστην ὁδὸν ἄξω σε...τίσι δὲ παιδικοῖς ὁμιλῶν μάλιστ' ἂν εὐφρανθείης, καὶ πῶς ἂν μαλακώτατα καθεύδοις.* Virtue then commends her more excellent but laborious way, ending *τῇ γνώμῃ ὑπηρετεῖν ἐθιστέον τὸ σῶμα καὶ γυμναστέον πόνοις καὶ ἱδρῶτι.* Vice demurs, and Virtue answers ...*ἵνα δὲ καθυπνώσῃς ἡδέως οὐ μόνον τὰς στρωμνὰς μαλακὰς ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς κλίνας καὶ τὰ ὑπόβαθρα ταῖς κλίναις παρασκευάζει...τὰ δ' ἀφροδίσια πρὸ τοῦ δεῖσθαι ἀναγκάζεις κ.τ.λ. οὕτω γὰρ παιδεύεις τοὺς σεαυτοῦ φίλους,* ΤΗ͂Ϲ ΜῈΝ ΝΥΚΤῸϹ ὙΒΡΊΖΟΥϹΑ, *τῆς δ' ἡμέρας τὸ χρησιμώτατον κατακοιμίζουσα...ἤ τις ἂν εὖ φρονῶν τοῦ σοῦ θιάσου τολμήσειεν εἶναι;... ἐγὼ δὲ σύνειμι μὲν θεοῖς, σύνειμι δὲ ἀνθρώποις τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς· ἔργον δὲ καλὸν οὔτε θεῖον οὔτ' ἀνθρώπινον χωρὶς ἐμοῦ γίγνεται.*

εὐπρεπῆ...ἐσθῆτι λευκῇ] In *Sim.* ix. 2. 4 the virgins are *ἐνδεδυμέναι λινοῦς χιτῶνας καὶ περιεζωσμέναι εὐπρεπῶς, ἔξω τοὺς ὤμους ἔχουσαι ὡς μέλλουσαι φορτίον τι βαστάζειν.* Cf. *πόνῳ καὶ ἱδρῶτι* in Virtue's first speech. *Sim.* x. 3. 2 "mundae enim sunt atque castae et industriae." The women in black are not girded *εὐπρεπῶς* (9. 5). Their black dresses mean *θάνατος* (19. 1). The Virtues in *Sim.* ix. are delicate (*τρυφεραί*) maidens, who stand *ἀνδρείως ὡς μέλλουσαι ὅλον τὸν οὐρανὸν βαστάζειν* (2. 4—5). Vice in Xenophon is a pampered woman who shrinks from toil. Hermas insists upon the necessity of being clad by the virgins with their *ἔνδυμα*: *Sim.* ix. 13. 2 *ἅγια πνεύματά εἰσι, καὶ ἄλλως ἄνθρωπος οὐ δύναται εὑρεθῆναι εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐὰν* μὴ αὖται αὐτὸν ἐνδύσωσι τὸ ἔνδυμα αὐτῶν: *Mand.* xii. 1. 2 τοὺς μὴ ἔχοντας τὸ ἔνδυμα τῆς ἐπιθυμίας τῆς ἀγαθῆς.

τὴν ἡδίστην ὁδόν] *Sim.* viii. 9. 1 καὶ αὕτη ἡ ὁδὸς ἡδυτέρα αὐτοῖς ἐφαίνετο.

To explain *Sim.* ix. 11, observe that it precedes a great revelation, and should therefore describe a severe discipline in preparation for it, according to the precedent of *Vis.* iii. 10. 7 ἐνήστευσα οὖν μίαν ἡμέραν, καὶ αὐτῇ τῇ νυκτί μοι ὤφθη νεανίσκος καὶ λέγει, τί σὺ ὑπὸ χεῖρα αἰτεῖς ἀποκαλύψεις ἐν δεήσει; βλέπε μήποτε πολλὰ αἰτούμενος βλάψῃς σου τὴν σάρκα. Accordingly we have the description of a vigil with fast and prayer, but in the strange form of a nocturnal revel, with running allusion and contrast to the ways of Vice in the *Memorabilia.*

The virgins say to Hermas, Thou shalt sleep with us as a brother and not ὡς ἀνήρ, ἡμέτερος γὰρ ἀδελφὸς εἶ, in contrast with the indictment of Vice by Virtue in Xenophon. But the word ἀδελφός may have been suggested by another writing.

Vice says ἐάν με φίλην ποιήσῃ. The virgins λίαν γάρ σε ἀγαπῶμεν, and they ἤρξαντό με καταφιλεῖν. Cf. *Mem.* II. 6. 33 ὡς τοὺς μὲν καλοὺς φιλήσοντός μου, τοὺς δ' ἀγαθοὺς καταφιλήσοντος.

Sim. ix. 11 continues...καὶ περιάγειν κύκλῳ τοῦ πύργου καὶ παίζειν μετ' ἐμοῦ. κἀγὼ ὡσεὶ νεώτερος ἐγεγόνειν καὶ ἠρξάμην καὶ αὐτὸς παίζειν μετ' αὐτῶν· αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐχόρευον, αἱ δὲ ὠρχοῦντο, αἱ δὲ ᾖδον. Contrast in Xenophon τίσι δὲ παιδικοῖς ὁμιλῶν μάλιστ' ἂν εὐφρανθείης [p. 252], and τοῦ σοῦ θιάσου εἶναι.

καὶ ἐκοιμήθην] Their sleep is a vigil. The whole night is spent in prayer. Contrast τῆς δ' ἡμέρας τὸ χρησιμώτατον κατακοιμίζουσα. *Mem.* II. 1. 3 ὀψὲ κοιμηθῆναι καὶ πρῲ ἀναστῆναι καὶ ἀγρυπνῆσαι.

χαμαὶ] Cf. *Mem.* II. 1. 6 ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ κ.τ.λ. The virgins spread their λινοῦς χιτῶνας, symbolic of purity, on the ground, and lay Hermas on them. Contrast καὶ πῶς ἂν μαλακώτατα καθεύδοις. οὐ μόνον τὰς στρωμνὰς μαλακὰς ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς κλίνας καὶ τὰ ὑπόβαθρα ταῖς κλίναις παρασκευάζει. In *Test. Jos.* 4 Joseph, all the years that he was tempted by Potiphar's wife, was χαμαικοιτῶν ἐν σάκκῳ. *Sim.* viii. 4. 1 περιεζωσάμην ὠμόλινον ἐκ σάκκου γεγονὸς καθαρόν. *Pirké Aboth*

vi. 4, "This is the Way of Torah: A morsel with salt shalt thou eat; Thou shalt drink also water by measure; and shalt sleep upon the ground, and live a life of painfulness."

μή τινα αὐτῷ ὕβριν κ.τ.λ.] It was this expression that suggested the explanation of the vigil here given: it is accounted for by the words *νυκτὸς ὑβρίζουσα* in Xenophon. The *ὕβρις* of Hermas alludes also to injury by asceticism, like *βλάψῃς τὴν σάρκα* quoted above from *Vis.* iii. 10. 7. Hermas replies...*εὐφράνθην μετ᾽ αὐτῶν μείνας*, in contrast with Xenophon's *μάλιστ᾽ ἂν εὐφρανθείης*.

ἐδείπνησα ῥήματα κυρίου ὅλην τὴν νύκτα] A fast in the form of a feast, in contrast with words in Xenophon, not quoted above, about Vice's sumptuous fare. With the last words quoted from the story, *ἔργον δὲ καλὸν οὔτε θεῖον κ.τ.λ.* (p. 250), compare in *Vis.* iii. 8. 7, of the seven Virtues, *τούτων τὰ ἔργα θεῖα*.

Of other parallels to the *Shepherd* in the *Memorabilia*, not to mention single words as *φιλόζωος*, notice the following:

Vis. i. 3. 4 *ὁ θεὸς τῶν δυνάμεων ὁ ἀοράτῳ δυνάμει...κτίσας τὸν κόσμον.* *Mem.* IV. 3. 13—14 *καὶ ὁ τὸν ὅλον κόσμον συντάττων τε καὶ συνέχων...ἃ χρὴ κατανοοῦντα μὴ καταφρονεῖν τῶν ἀοράτων, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκ τῶν γιγνομένων τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῶν καταμανθάνοντα τιμᾶν τὸ δαιμόνιον.* Cf. Rom. 1. 20.

Sim. ix. 2. 7 *τὰ ὀπίσω σου ἰδεῖν οὐ δύνῃ, τὰ δὲ ἔμπροσθέν σου βλέπεις κ.τ.λ.* *Mem.* II. 3. 19 *ὀφθαλμοὶ δὲ οἱ δοκοῦντες ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐξικνεῖσθαι οὐδ᾽ ἂν τῶν ἔτι ἐγγυτέρω ὄντων τὰ ἔμπροσθεν ἅμα καὶ τὰ ὄπισθεν ἰδεῖν δύναιντο.*

Mand. vi. describes the *Two Ways* with apparently intentional variations on the words of Hesiod quoted in *Mem.* II. 1. 20:

> *τὴν μὲν γὰρ κακότητα καὶ ἰλαδὸν ἔστιν ἑλέσθαι*
> *ῥηιδίως· λείη μὲν ὁδός, μάλα δ᾽ ἐγγύθι ναίει.*
> *τῆς δ᾽ ἀρετῆς ἱδρῶτα θεοὶ προπάροιθεν ἔθηκαν*
> *ἀθάνατοι· μακρὸς δὲ καὶ ὄρθιος οἶμος ἐς αὐτὴν*
> *καὶ τρηχὺς τὸ πρῶτον· ἐπὴν εἰς ἄκρον ἵκηαι,*
> *ῥηιδίη δὴ ἔπειτα πέλει, χαλεπή περ ἐοῦσα.*

Here the way to Κακότης is short, and the path to Ἀρετή *μακρὸς καὶ ὄρθιος*: in Hermas they are *στρεβλή* and *ὀρθή* respectively, the evil way being therefore the less direct. In Hesiod it is λείη as well as short, and the right way τρηχὺς κ.τ.λ.: in Hermas the evil way is τραχεῖα (*ib.* 1. 3) ...οἱ δὲ τῇ ὀρθῇ ὁδῷ πορευόμενοι ὁμαλῶς περιπατοῦσι καὶ ἀπροσκόπτως· οὔτε γὰρ τραχεῖά ἐστιν οὔτε ἀκανθώδης. In Hesiod the way to Virtue is χαλεπή: in *Mand.* vi., end, Hermas writes, πίστευε δὲ ὅτι τὰ ἔργα τοῦ ἀγγέλου τῆς πονηρίας χαλεπά ἐστι.

D. *Hilgenfeld's Analysis of the Shepherd.*

Hilgenfeld assigns the *Shepherd* to three authors, namely,

Vis. i.—iv.	to Hermas apocalypticus (H. a),
Vis. v.—*Sim.* vii.	to Hermas pastoralis (H. p.),
Sim. viii.—x.	to Hermas secundarius (H. s.),

and suspects that from ἐργάζου τὸ ἀγαθόν to ἔνδοξος παρὰ τῷ θεῷ in *Mand.* ii. is an interpolation by H. s. (c. 140 A. D.) in the work of H. p. (c. 97 A.D.), because of the sudden transition "a simplicitate ad beneficentiam." On this see the *Journal of Philology*, vol. XVIII. 322, and add the following parallel to *Mand.* ii. of Hermas from *Test. Isachar*:

3 ἐπορευόμην ἐν εὐθύτητι καρδίας, καὶ ἐγενόμην γεωργὸς τῶν πατέρων μου καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν μου...καὶ εὐλόγησέ με ὁ πατήρ μου, βλέπων ὅτι ἐν ἁπλότητι πορεύομαι. καὶ οὐκ ἤμην περίεργος ἐν ταῖς πράξεσί μου...καὶ πάντοτε ἔχαιρεν ἐπὶ τῇ ἁπλότητί μου ὁ πατήρ μου. εἴτε γὰρ ἔκαμνον, πᾶσαν ὀπώραν καὶ πᾶν πρωτογένημα κ.τ.λ. καὶ κύριος ἐδιπλασίαζε τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἐν χερσί μου... ὁ θεὸς συνεργεῖ τῇ ἁπλότητί μου· παντὶ γὰρ πένητι καὶ παντὶ θλιβομένῳ παρεῖχον τῆς γῆς τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἐν ἁπλότητι καρδιας...5 τὴν ἁπλότητα κτήσασθε, καὶ ἐν ἀκακίᾳ πορεύεσθε...ἀγαπᾶτε κύριον καὶ τὸν πλησίον, πένητα καὶ ἀσθενῆ ἐλεᾶτε κ.τ.λ.

Thus ἁπλότης is associated with almsgiving, and in a way which fully explains itself. Notice θλιβομένῳ and ἀκακίᾳ, comparing *Mand.* ii. *Did.* v. 2 θλιβόμενον. The full title of *Test. Isach.* (p. 160 ed. Sinker, Camb. 1869) is Διαθήκη Ἰσάχαρ περὶ ἁπλότητος.

E. *The Saying of the Didaché* Ἱδρωτάτω ἡ ἐλεημοσύνη σου εἰς τὰς χεῖράς σου μέχρις ἂν γνῷς τίνι δῷς (i. 6).

The first thought suggested to me by this saying was that it is a development from Gen. 3. 19 in the sense of Acts 20. 35 and Eph. 4. 28. The former text is paraphrased in *Did.* xii. 3 by ἐργαζέσθω καὶ φαγέτω. A giving conditioned by labour is ethically of a higher order than giving out of superfluity. In *Eth. Nic.* IX. 7 we read δοκεῖ δὲ τὸ μὲν εὖ πάσχειν ἄπονον εἶναι, τὸ δ' εὖ ποιεῖν ἐργῶδες. The normal εὐποιία is an ἔργον, a labour of love. St Augustine's paraphrase, *Sudet eleemosyna in manu tua quousque invenias justum cui des* (*Journal of Philology*, XIX. 159), which does not exactly represent the Greek, implies at least a spiritual ἐνέργεια. If "sweat" in ἱδρωτάτω κ.τ.λ. means something like the field labour of Gen. 3. 19, by means of which a man should give alms as well as support himself, we may illustrate the saying by such passages as Gal. 6. 9—10, where καιρῷ γὰρ ἰδίῳ θερίϲομεν introduces ἐργαζώμεθα τὸ ἀγαθὸν πρὸς πάντας, μάλιστα δὲ πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους τῆς πίστεως. I found a paraphrase of ἱδρωτάτω κ.τ.λ. in this sense (*ib.* XIX. 152) in *Apost. Const.* vii. 2, πᾶϲι γὰρ θέλει δίδοϲθαι ὁ πατὴρ ὁ τὸν ἥλιον αὐτοῦ ἀνατέλλων ἐπὶ πονηροὺς καὶ ἀδίκους. πᾶσιν οὖν δίκαιον διδόναι ἐξ οἰκείων πόνων· Τίμα γάρ, φησί, τὸν κύριον ἀπὸ σῶν δικαίων πόνων· προτιμητέον δὲ τοὺς ἁγίους. Οὐ φονεύϲειϲ κ.τ.λ.,—namely between the words in uncial type, which are quoted from the *Teaching*.

Notice in the *Sibylline Oracles*,

i. 57—58. αὐξάνεσθε (*sic*), πληθύνεσθ', ἐργάζεσθ' ἐπὶ γαίης
ἐντέχνως, ἵν' ἔχητε τροφῆς κόρον ἱδρώοντες.

ii. 79—80. ἱδρῶϲι σταχύων χειρὶ χρῄζοντι παράσχου.
ὃς δ' ἐλεημοϲύνην παρέχει θεῷ οἶδε δανείζειν.

iii. 244—5. τοῖς μηδὲν ἔχουσιν,
ἀλλὰ πενιχρομένοισι, θέρους ἀπὸ μοῖραν ἰάλλει.

viii. 399—406
αὐτὸς ὁδοὺς προέθηκα δύο, ζωῆς θανάτου τε,
* * καὶ δὸς πεινῶντι τὸν ἄρτον,
ἐκ μόχθων ἰδίων πορίσας ἁγναῖς παλάμῃσι.

Here we have the sequence, *sweat* to support oneself (Gen. 3. 19); *sweat* in almsgiving; the same sense without the word "sweat," but with θέρους for σταχύων, expressly referring to field labour; lastly, the same in effect, but with no express reference to that form of labour[5]. This favours the view that ἱδρωτάτω κ.τ.λ. springs out of Gen. iii. 19 and is referred to under ἰδίων πόνων in *Apost. Const.* and under κόπων in *Mand.* ii. In ii. 79 Dr Gifford would read ἱδρώσῃ χειρὶ σταχύων. In iii. 245 there is a variant ἀπόμοιραν (cf. xiii. 45). In Ἱδρώσει δὲ χθὼν, at the beginning of the acrostic Ἰησοῦς κ.τ.λ. in viii. 217 sqq., the reading ἱδρῶσι is again well attested (Friedlieb), though obviously wrong[6].

In connexion with the thought that εὐποιία is ἐργώδης (p. 254), notice in *Sim.* ii. 5 πιστεύων ὅτι ὃ ἐργάσεται εἰς τὸν πένητα δυνήσεται τὸν μισθὸν εὑρεῖν παρὰ τῷ θεῷ. 6 ἔτι ἐπισπουδάζει περὶ τοῦ πένητος. 7 τοῦτο ἔργον μέγα ἐστί...καὶ εἰργάσατο εἰς τὸν πένητα ἐκ τῶν δωρημάτων τοῦ κυρίου. 9 κοινωνοὶ τοῦ ἔργου τοῦ δικαίου. Compare *Epist. Barn.* 21. 2 ἔχετε μεθ' ἑαυτῶν εἰς οὓς ἐργάσησθε. Also Matt. 26. 10; Mark 14. 6; 2 Joh. 8; 3 Joh. 5. The whole virtuous life is ἐργώδης, according to Hesiod as quoted in *Mem. Socr.* II. 1. 20,

> τῆς δ' ἀρετῆς ἱδρῶτα θεοὶ προπάροιθεν ἔθηκαν,

and the same is said in like words by Christian writers.

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[5] Except that δὸς τὸν ἄρτον [Is. 58. 10] is parallel to φαγῇ τὸν ἄρτον in Genesis, to which the Sibyllist alludes. The impossible αὐξάνεσθε, for which Rzach in his *Orac. Sib.* (1891) has αὔξεσθε, is from Gen. 8. 17 Sept. αὐξάνεσθε καὶ πληθύνεσθε ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς (cf. 9. 1, 7). The true reading is illustrated by *Sib.* i. 272 αὐξόμενοι πληθυνόμενοι τὰ δίκαια νέμοντες.

[6] Rzach has in *Sib.* i. 58 ἐνδελεχῶς (for ἐντέχνως), and in ii. 79 ἱδρῶσιν (for ἱδρῶσι), with a note ending "an ἱδρώτων an ἱδρῶσ' ἐν? cf. Hesiod. *Oper.* 415 καύματος ἰδαλίμου Hesych. ἴδεος (εἴδεος cod.) θάλπους καύματος; εὐδώρῳ (χειρὶ) Boissonade coniecit coll. viii. 498 εὐδώροις παλάμῃσι ('benefica manu spicas largire inopi')." But ἱδρώσῃ χειρί suits the reference to harvest labour and agrees with ἱδρωτάτω εἰς τὰς χεῖράς σου. To give σταχύων or θέρους μοῖραν is enjoined in Deut. 24. 19. "When thou cuttest down thine harvest in thy field, and hast forgot a sheaf in the field, thou shalt not go again to fetch it: it shall be for the stranger, for the fatherless, and for the widow; that the LORD thy God may bless thee in all the work of thine hands." Cf. Ruth 2. 15, 16. Mr Rendel Harris in the Johns Hopkins edition of the *Teaching* (p. 71) has quoted a curious interpretation of Ecclus. 12. 1 γνῶθι τίνι ποιεῖς [*Did.* τίνι δῷς] in the sense of θεῷ οἶδε δανείζειν (*Sib.* ii. 80).

Conclusion.

a. The figure of the two ways with good and evil guides, however ancient, must be a development from that of the one way, which a man walks in with guidance and is in danger of missing without it (Isai. 30. 21). Outside of ἡ ὁδός are ἀνοδίαι (note 4), which Hermas locates in the στρεβλὴ ὁδός. Virtue and Vice, the goals in Hesiod (p. 252), are the guides in Prodicus. Their counterparts in the Proverbs of Solomon are Wisdom and Folly. Wisdom is both guide and goal, for (she says) "whoso findeth me findeth life" (Prov. 8. 35), and She awaits men in her house, and guides them to it by herself and by "her maidens" (Prov. 9. 1—3). So Virtue and Vice may be resolved into or regarded as in command of all the virtues and the vices (note 2), and so the Christian two ways may have good and evil angels placed upon them. Resolve Vice into literal vices, and we have the Way of Death in *Did.* v. The Way of Life in *Did.* i—iv. may be an expansion from a corresponding catalogue of duties. Compare the two ways according to R. Jochanan ben Zakkai and his disciples in *Pirké Aboth* cap. 2. If in the *Didaché* the angelic guides[7] would be out of place (p. 244), how came they to be connected with its teaching?

b. Texts of Scripture, or the Greek poets and philosophers (p. 247), or Jewish and Gentile teachings combined may have suggested a form of the *Two Ways* with angels or spirits for guides [A], distinct from its prosaic form in the *Didaché* [D]; and a rhetorical writer would have been tempted to improve upon D with the help of A. Whatever were the dates of the original A and D, the form A + D or D + A was clearly later.

Notice in Talm. Bab. Chagigah 16 a (trans. Streane, 1891), "R. Zarika says *The two angels of the ministry which lead* [a man], these witness against him, as it is said For He shall give His angels charge of thee, to keep thee in all thy ways." Compare

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[7] The Latin fragment has been very fully and ably discussed by Professor Warfield. See Dr Philip Schaff's *The Oldest Church Manual.*

Hebrews 1. 14. Talm. Jerus. Chag. II. 1 (p. 77 *a*, ed. princ.) likens the Torah to two paths א׳ של אור וא׳ של שלג.

c. The general argument to shew that Hermas knew the Prodicus myth is independent of the suggested explanation of the Vigil (p. 250), which was in fact an afterthought. The dodecads of Hermas are Faith and "her maidens" (Prov. 9. 3) and Unfaith and her brood respectively, as he says in *Vis.* iii. 8. 5 of his heptad of graces from Faith to Love, *θυγατέρες ἀλλήλων εἰσίν*. Briefly then, according to our conjecture, he knows the two ways as the way of *Πίστις* and the way of *'Απιστία*. This is illustrated by the actual use of these designations in the Clementines, in a passage in which the writer, like Hermas, shews a general acquaintance with the Christian and other forms of the *Two Ways*. See *Clem. Hom.* VII. 6, 7 (Migne *P. G.* vol. 2. 221), where we read in § 6 *λέγω δὲ ἐπὶ ποίαις κακαῖς πράξεσι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἔταξεν ὑπὸ τοῦ τῆς* ΚΑΚΊΑϹ *ἡγεμόνος* [? *ὑπὸ τῆς* ΚΑΚΊΑϹ *ἡγεμ.*] *κακοῦσθαι κ.τ.λ.*, and in § 7 *ταύτας τοίνυν τάς τε ἀγαθὰς καὶ κακὰς* ΠΡΆΞΕΙϹ *εἰδὼς προμηνύω ὑμῖν* ὡϹ ὉΔΟῪϹ ΔΎΟ...*ἡ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἀπολλυμένων* ὉΔῸϹ ΠΛΑΤΕῖΑ ΜῈΝ ΚΑῚ ὉΜΑΛΩΤΆΤΗ, *ἀπολλύουσα δὲ* ἌΝΕΥ ΤΟΥ͂ ΠΌΝΟΥ, *ἡ δὲ τῶν σωζομένων* ϹΤΕΝῊ ΜῈΝ ΚΑῚ ΤΡΑΧΕῖΑ *σώζουσα δὲ πρὸς τῷ τέλει τοὺς διαπορευθέντας* ἘΠΙΠΌΝΩϹ. *τούτων δὲ τῶν δύο ὁδῶν προκαθέζεται* ΠΊϹΤΙϹ ΚΑῚ 'ΑΠΙϹΤΊΑ. *καὶ ὁδεύουσι διὰ μὲν ἀπιστίας οἱ τὰς* ἩΔΟΝᾺϹ *προκρίναντες κ.τ.λ.* Here we may note references to the Gospel in *πλατεῖα, στενή* (Matt. 7. 13): to a form of *Did.* i. sq. in the simple *πράξεις...ὡς ὁδοὺς δύο*: and to Prodicus, Hesiod and others in *κακίας ἡγεμόνος, ὁμαλωτάτη, ἄνευ τοῦ πόνου, τραχεῖα, ἐπιπόνως, ἡδονάς*. Clem. Alex. in *Paed.* III. 8 quotes Hesiod's Κεῖνος *μὲν πανάριστος κ.τ.λ.* and gives it a Scriptural application.

d. The date of *Test.* 12 *Patr.* is much disputed, as Mr Joseph B. Mayor notices in his commentary on *Epist. St James*, p. liv (1892). If the Testaments were written early enough, it would be natural to think that Hermas alluded to them. In any case *Test. Isach.* 3—5 (p. 253) shews the relation of "simplicitas" and "beneficentia" to be so intimate that the transition from the one to the other in *Mand.* ii. need occasion no surprise.

e. Whatever ἱδρωτάτω κ.τ.λ. really meant in the first instance, it seems to have been *taken to mean* what we have suggested by early Greek writers; and that is of primary importance when we are seeking traces of the saying.

But I am more concerned in this article with the exordium than with any subsequent saying of the *Teaching*; and I think it has been shewn that the angels in certain other recensions of its *Two Ways* are no mark of priority, although some variety of the A-form was possibly older than D. "Lucis et tenebrarum" in the von Gebhardt fragment comes in disconnectedly (p. 243), and Barnabas has been betrayed by his imagination into some confusion of thought. The picturesque φωταγωγοὶ ἄγγελοι stationed upon his way τοῦ φωτός would be of service rather upon a way of darkness, like the pillar of fire by night (Exod. 13. 21).

C. TAYLOR.

CAMBRIDGE, 1892.

TERTULLIAN'S APOLOGY.

In my Bibliographical Clue to Latin Literature (Cambr. 1875, pp. 163—6) I collected the titles of the principal editions of Tertullian, and of works or essays published in illustration of him and his writings. I now add:

J. P. Condamin, De Q. S. F. Tertulliano, uexatae religionis patrono, et praecipuo apud Latinos Christianae linguae artifice. Bar-le-Duc 1877. 8vo.

Q. S. F. T. libellus de spectaculis. Ad cod. Agobardinum denuo collatum recensuit, adnotationes criticis nouas addidit Ern. Klussmann. Lips. 1877. large 8vo.

id. Adnotationes crit. ad Tert. de spect. in Gymnasium Ienense ipsis Non. Oct. anni 1876 bonis litteris dedicandum pientissimis notis prosequuntur Director et Collegae Gymnasii Rudolphopolitani. Rudolphopoli, Froebel. (Reviewed by H. Rönsch in Liter. Centralblatt, 31 March 1877.)

Is. Pelet, Essai sur l'apologétique de Tertullien. Strasb. 1868. 8vo. Keim, Die Zeit des T. apol. in his Aus dem Urchristenthum i (Zürich 1878) 174—8. In the Zeitschr. f. oest. Gymn. 1869, pp. 348—368 W. Hartel reviewed Ebert's dissertation on Tertullian's relation to Minucius Felix.

The same Hartel in his Patristische Studien i (Wien, Tempsky, 1890, pp. 58. 8vo) wrote: Zu Tert. de spect. de idol.

Dr Ernst Noeldechen, who in 1890 published: Tert. dargestellt von E. N. Gotha, Perthes. 8vo. pp. viii 496; also wrote in Brieger's Zeitschr. f. Kirchengeschichte XI, on Tert. de cor., and many other essays on this father in other periodicals.

Dr Aug. Oxé Prolegomena de carmine aduersus Marcionitas. Leipz. Fock. 1888. 8vo. pp. 51. Cf. Ztschr. f. wiss. Theol. 1876, pp. 113—120, 154—158.

R. A. Lipsius, Die Quellen der ältesten Ketzergeschichte, Leipz. 1875, pp. 64—83.

G. R. Hauschild, die Grundsätze und Mittel der Sprachbildung bei Tertullian. Leipz. 1876. 4to. The same: Tertullians Psychologie und Erkenntnisstheorie. Frankf. 1880. 4to.

P. Schwenk: über die Zeit des Minucius Felix (Jahrbb. f. prot. Theol. 1883 n. 2).

Fr. Wilhelm: De Minucii Felicis Octauio et Tertulliani apologetico. Bresl. Philol. Abhandl. 1887.

The first part of the Vienna edition of Tertullian, prepared by Reifferscheid, appeared, completed by Wissowa, in 1890, but it does not contain the Apology; however it is so far helpful that it gives an instalment of cognate pieces, spect., idol., ad nat., test. an.

See Engelmann, Bibliotheca Scriptorum Classicorum. 8th ed. by E. Preuss. II 1882, pp. 663—666, and Teuffel-Schwabe, Gesch. d. röm. Lit.^{5} § 373.

To scholars whose reading is confined to the handful of writers, barely filling a single shelf, which are counted as Latin classics, I would venture to offer a few reasons for following Scaliger, Casaubon, Gataker, Bentley, Wasse, Haupt, Bernays, in widening their ken to the entire range of Latin authors, of whatever creed or profession, down to the contemporaries of Bede and Alcuin. Even such a self-taught giant as Madvig often shews pitiable weakness from the limits to which he restricted himself[1].

When a Greek or Roman philosopher or rhetorician became a Christian (*fiunt, non nascuntur Christiani*), he did not at once forget all the learning of the past. A very large part of what we know of ancient religion, a very large number of perfectly classical words, have been preserved to us only by the fathers[2].

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[1] At the Leyden tercentenary Madvig told me that he had read no Greek or Latin theological author but Josephus, and that only for information respecting ancient warfare. He was however a diligent student of the New Testament, as may be seen by his copy in the Cambridge Divinity Library.

[2] In the Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology II (Cambr. 1855) 82 I shewed that *hic esto* (also *hic sum*) the correlative of the *istic sum* ('I am

Look at the fragments of Seneca, collect the fragments of Varro, and you will see that it is not safe to say to Christian authors: *non licet esse nos.* I have found abundant evidence in patristic Greek and Latin for many words known to the lexicons only by citations in glossaries. Rönsch, Paucker, Georges, supply students of Romance languages with hundreds of words hitherto unregistered, the parents of a numerous Italian, Spanish, French progeny.

Again, many of the chief classics, as Pindar and Thucydides, are very difficult[1], or (as tragic choruses) very corrupt. Many of the fathers write very simply, and might serve admirably for the neglected discipline of the ear; even as Cicero and the younger Pliny pursued their studies by the aid of *readers.* It is certain that an entire volume of either Chrysostom (Dio—to name a heathen—or John) could be read carefully in shorter time than is spent on the study of the few hundred lines of the Agamemnon. And the path through the former would be all luminous, through the latter dark with corruptions and conjectures and despairing interpretations. Many of the best scholars, as in England Pearson, John Davies, Wasse (much of whose work remains in manuscript), Routh, Kaye, F. Field, Chr. Wordsworth, Lightfoot, have devoted their best energies to the elucidation of the fathers. As a rule patristic and biblical texts are preserved in earlier manuscripts than those of heathen classics; so that palaeographers must necessarily sit at the feet of divines.

For the order of study, I would say: Leave to the infallible oracles of monthly magazines sweeping hypotheses, no whit less hazardous than those of Father Hardouin. First become thoroughly familiar with the ancients themselves, before you listen to guesses about them. It is characteristic of the sobriety of Englishmen, that our scholars, as Lardner, Routh, Kaye, Clinton, Lightfoot, have followed in the modest steps of Tille-

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with you', i.e. 'I am attending') of Cicero and Terence, is to be gleaned from Augustine.

[1] This remark was once made to me by Mr Bywater. He said: "one could read a very large part of such a writer as Plutarch, in the time that is occupied on the small volume of Thucydides."

mont, content to collect evidence for the reader's information, not without a guiding clue.

A once popular book, of solid but unobtrusive learning, now forgotten[1], by an accomplished Cambridge scholar (Biography of the Early Church. By R. W. Evans. 2nd ed. London 1859. 2 vols. sm. 8vo), if read with the authorities cited in the notes, will form an excellent introduction to patristic study. Listen to this character of Tertullian's apology (I 336—8):

> Its power is far superior to that of any former defence. Tertullian not only surpassed his predecessors in information and talent, but was peculiarly fitted by temper to treat such a subject. No one could express in such forcible language the indignant sense of injustice, or represent its detail in a more lively manner. None could press his arguments so closely, and few had so learned an acquaintance with heathenism, and could expose its follies with more bitter sarcasm (Apol. 42), or whip its wickedness with a heavier lash (Apol. 35). The subject too, while it gave free scope to the range of his argumentative powers, neither allured him, nor compelled him to sophistical subtilties. The free and elastic vigour of a mind that had still half its strength in reserve pervades the composition; and if we put the mere mechanism of style out of the question, and consider the copiousness, the variety, the interest of the matter, the skilfulness of selection of topics, and the powerful grasp with which they are handled, together with the greatness of the occasion, it will not be too much to say, that it is the noblest oration among all which antiquity has left us. . . . In what a state of mind do we rise up from it! Its brilliant pictures are glowing before our eyes, its deep tone of declamation is sounding in our ears, its imploring, its condemning, its expostulating accents have touched our feelings to the quick. . . . Heaven and hell have been moved, and have entered into a mortal struggle, of which we are now enjoying the fruits, in a victory which has decided the fate of mankind for all eternity. What literary gew-gaws do the finest orations of Cicero and Demosthenes appear after this! How do we put them away as childish things, and feel ashamed that we should set such value on the vituperative filth which is poured forth upon Aeschines and Antony, political rivals on the narrow stage of a corner of this little world.

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[1] Dr Thompson once lamented to me the change of taste for the worse: "When you wanted to make a present to a young lady, that was the kind of book to give: but now they take no interest in such things."

I believe that of those who have really grappled with Tertullian's difficulties, few will challenge this verdict of a most competent judge.

I can conceive few more valuable aids to classical scholarship than a digest, not on the plan of the Dutch *variorum* editors, nor yet on the scissors-and-paste plan of Dindorf, of all that is permanently valuable in commentaries and miscellaneous remarks on the Christian apologists, say to 500 A.D. The work should appear by itself, and would have a permanent value, whatever manuscripts might spring to light. Critics and commentators should be read in order of time and each allowed credit for his contributions—I would not ruthlessly clip away even the biographical confidences with which old scholars enlivened their learning—; no quotation should be repeated, but the entire composite note should be fused into unity, references being reduced to one uniform pattern. Each special subject, as the calumny about Thyestean feasts, should be exhausted in some one note, and cross references given. The editor would be in excellent company for some years, and would learn something of the meaning of catholic communion, as he forgathered with the Spanish Jesuit La Cerda, the French jurists Didier Herauld (Heraldus) and Nic. Rigault, with Le Nourry and Tillemont and Ceillier, Mosheim and Semler, Oehler and Ebert, Kaye and Blunt[1] and Pusey[2], Neander and Oehler and Böhringer and Nöldechen[3]. Perhaps no two men ever more thoroughly mastered every detail in the field of the early apologists than Le Nourry (whose Apparatus, Par. 1715, is reprinted in Migne and in Oehler) and Christian Kortholt (15 Jan. 163$\frac{2}{3}$—31 March 1694), whose 'Paganus obtrectator' (Kiel

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[1] Right Use of the Early Fathers. Here p. 432 Lightfoot might have found, cited from Theoph. ad Autol. I 1 f., a far more apt parallel to Philem. 11, than that which he cites from c. 12 of the same book.

[2] Notes (ascribed by Kaye to Dodgson) on Dodgson's excellent translation in the Library of the Fathers. It is interesting to learn that the citations in these notes were verified by one who left us, J. B. Morris.

[3] On this latest monograph see Lüdemann in Theol. Jahresber. hrsg. v. R. A. Lipsius, x, 1891, pp. 128—9. Lipsius, alas, is no more, but this annual, of unrivalled excellence, is continued by his Jena colleagues.

1698 4to, 2nd ed. Lubeck 1703 4to), comment. on Iust. M., Athenag., Theophil., Tatian (ibid. 1675 fol. 'profundae eruditionis,' says Walch); 'de persecutionibus ecclesiae primaeuae' (Kiel 1689 4to) and other works (see the Bodleian catalogue and Joecher) are in my judgement still necessary to the student. If Mr Carstens, in a slight article in the Allg. deutsche Biographie XVI (Leipz. 1882) 726 says that K.'s books "have been long overtaken by the advance of science and have no longer any importance," I comfort myself by the remembrance that this Biography is weakest in the lives and works of scholars. I should like to cross-examine Mr Carstens on Kortholt. Of works on the other apologists that of Semisch on Justin and Keim's Celsus, are, so far as I know, the most helpful.

Beside printed sources, my ideal editor should inquire for manuscripts. My mouth watered when I read Blunt's casual remark that Rigault's glossary is convenient for annotation. This book and Blunt's manuscript lectures on the early fathers should certainly be secured for the university which he adorned. The Germans are no doubt the most active workers in the patristic vineyard; but how few of them are scholars like Burton or Blunt, Kaye or Field!

LANGUAGE.

Of existing glossaries to Tertullian, those of Rigault, Semler (also in Migne) and (the best) Oehler, all are necessary. General lexicons of independent value are Faber[1] (best ed. by Leichius, Francof. 1749, fol.), a favorite with Dr Westcott; Rob. Stephens (ed. Gesner, 4 vols. 1749; the ed. of Ant. Birr, Basil. 1740, fol. 4 vols., has inedited notes of Henry Stephens); Forcellini, two editions of which are still incomplete, that by De Vit (lexicon and glossary and a large part of the valuable 'Onomasticon' have appeared), and that by Corradini (incorporating Klotz); Scheller (3rd ed. Leipz. 1804—5, 5 vols. 8vo; I have Madvig's copy), translated, without the instructive and pathetic preface, by Riddle for the Oxford Press (fol.): Klotz; (Freund's book, which has supplied the basis of ninety-nine hundredths of the lexicons sold in England for many years, is, after the letter C, a most careless compilation from Forcellini); and, fullest of all in vocabulary, and necessary as a supplement even to Forcellini, Georges. Of the adaptations of Freund I have for many years employed two copies of Riddle-White, and (of late) two copies of Lewis-Short, as a basis for annotations; but young scholars, who use a lexicon not so much to add to or correct its statements, as to learn the usage of the language, ought to employ Gesner or Forcellini or Scheller habitually. For a portion of the alphabet (from D—K) by far the completest storehouse is the 'Thesaurus der klassischen Latinität,' begun by Georges, and continued from D onwards by Gustav Mühlmann (Leipz. 1854—68).

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[1] Of Faber, Gesner, Forcellini, Scheller, I said something in the Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology II (Cambr. 1855), 277—290.

Any of the old Latin-English lexicons, from Cooper to the complete editions of Ainsworth, give far more racy, homespun English for the Latin words, than the books which now command the market. Lewis-Short has an improved orthography and some additions from Georges and various commentaries; also a few articles (e.g. *cum* conj. and prep., *sui*, *suus*) are carefully and independently executed; but in some points the changes from Riddle-White are for the worse.

In the 'Bibliographical Clue to Latin Literature' I recorded under each author the then aids (indexes cet.) to the study of his language; it is well to remember that the 'Delphin' classics (Valpy's reprint is very accurate, and adds many useful commentaries to the original quartos) and also Lemaire's supply complete indexes to many authors. Merguet is about half way through the Herculean task of a concordance to Cicero; he and others have brought out three rival lexicons to Caesar: Teubner's press is engaged on lexicons to Livy and Tacitus. In Teubner's 'bibliotheca' some authors, chiefly technical, as Cassius Felix, Iulius Valerius cet., are furnished with indexes. The Berlin 'Monumenta Germaniae historica' and the Vienna library of the fathers have indeed indexes, but in many cases by no means exhaustive; e.g. not Reifferscheid, but Forcellini, informs us that the rare word *bacula* (dim. of *baca*) occurs thrice in Arnobius. Of late years the French have returned to the field in which they reigned supreme in the 16th and 17th centuries. Thus: Henri Gœlzer, 'Étude lexicographique et grammaticale de la Latinité de Saint Jérome' (Paris, Hachette, 1884), and (a perfect model in its way) Max Bonnet, 'Le Latin de Grégoire de Tours' (ibid. 1890). The Archiv für lat. Lexikographie, published since 1884 by Teubner, has, thanks to the self-sacrifice of the publisher and the editor Ed. Wölfflin, done a great work in surveying the whole field of Latin letters, and training readers to gather in the whole mass of Latin words. There too may be seen reviews of all new books and articles bearing on the subject.

There is yet an opening for two lexicons, of moderate compass, but of great value to critics, lexicographers and grammarians.

(A) We possess two lexicons of terminations in Greek, but, to my knowledge, none in Latin. I refer to: (I) 'Henrici Hoogeveen, opus postumum exhibens dictionarium analogicum linguae graecae' (Cambr. typis acad. 1800. 4to) a book recommended by the late Dr Thompson; and (II) 'Etymologisches Wörterbuch der griechischen Sprache zur Uebersicht der Wortbildung nach den Endsylben geordnet von Dr Wilhelm Pape' (Berl. 1836, 8vo).

(B) Faber and Gesner frequently record under one word other words with which it is liable to be confounded by scribes; they also cite lexicographical collections in commentaries and journals. Whoever has traced with attention the course of lexicography knows that almost every word well treated by any lexicon owes its good fortune to some exhaustive note of N. Heins, or J. F. Gronov, or Bentley cet. The indexes to such books as Drakenborch's Livy and Duker's Florus will shew how the thing should be done. To go down the whole course of classical learning, from such treasuries as Gruter's 'Fax Artium,' to the 'aduersaria' of Madvig and the 'lectiones' of Cobet, would be the making of any young scholar.

The most useful commentary, on the whole, is Oehler's. Herauld also and Rigault should be read, and Dr Pusey. La Cerda is copious in parallels. Pamelius takes a polemical rather than a literary interest in his author, but his index of things is the completest of all; Rigault also and Oehler are good. Kaye, Ebert (literary history) and Böhringer will well repay the labour of perusal.

Without further preface I proceed to my notes. They are not exhaustive, but are intended chiefly as a supplement to earlier commentaries. May they prove that there is much in Tert. of interest to any student, though no more of a technical theologian than was Jakob Bernays.

NOTES.

c. 1 p. 111 (Oehler) ROMANI IMPERII ANTISTITES called *praesides* c. 9. 30 f. 50.

p. 113 l. 3 SECTAE HVIVS c. 21 pr. n.

„ l. 5 SCIT SE PEREGRINAM IN TERRIS AGERE ep. ad Diognet. 5 § 5 *πατρίδας οἰκοῦσιν ἰδίας, ἀλλ' ὡς πάροικοι· μετέχουσι πάντων ὡς πολῖται καὶ πάνθ' ὑπομένουσιν ὡς ξένοι· πᾶσα ξένη πατρίς ἐστιν αὐτῶν καὶ πᾶσα πατρὶς ξένη. . . .* § 9 *ἐπὶ γῆς διατρίβουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐν οὐρανῷ πολιτεύονται.* cf. Lightfoot on Clem. Rom. ep. pr.

p. 113 l. 6 AGERE c. 10 m. p. 154 fin. *certe enim oblitos* agitis.

p. 113 l. penult. INAVDITAM SI DAMNENT ad nat. I 20 p. 93 2 Wiss. *emendate uosmetipsos prius, ut Christianos puniatis, nisi quod emendaueritis, non punietis, immo eritis Christiani; immo si fueritis Christiani, eritis emendati. discite quid in nobis accusetis, et non accusabitis...* l. 8 *damnate ueritatem, sed inspectam si potestis, et probate errorem, sed repertum si putatis. quodsi praescribitur uobis errorem amare et odisse ueritatem. cur quod amatis et odistis non noueritis?* Minuc. 27 § 8 *sic* <daemones> *occupant animos et obstruunt pectora, ut ante nos incipiant homines odisse quam nosse, ne cognitos aut imitari possint aut damnare non possint.* Lact. V 1 § 5 *quia student damnare tamquam nocentes quos utique sciunt innocentes, constare de ipsa innocentia nolunt: quasi uero maior iniquitas sit probatam innocentiam* damnasse *quam* inauditam. § 6 *sed, ut dixi, uerentur, ne, si audierint, damnare non possint.* Acts 25 16.

p. 114 l. 1 HANC ITAQVE PRIMAM CAVSAM APVD VOS COLLOCAMVS INIQVITATIS ODII ERGA NOMEN CHRISTIANORVM Matt. 10 22. 24 9. Mark 13 13. Luke 6 22. 21 12, 17. Io. 15 21. Acts 5 41. 9 14—16, 21. 1 Pet. 4 14—16. Cf. Lightfoot on Ign. Eph. 3 pr. ('the Name', absolute). Renan L'Église Chrétienne 369 n. 2 and 3. Kortholt Paganus obtrectator pp. 711—720 'de inuiso ipsomet Christianorum nomine'. Iustin apol. 2 2 p. 42^e seq. "Ptolemaeus accused and condemned solely as a Christian. Lucius, another Christian, asked: *τίς ἡ αἰτία; τοῦ μήτε μοιχὸν μήτε πόρνον μήτε ἀνδροφόνον μήτε λωποδύτην μήτε ἅρπαγα μήτε ἁπλῶς ἀδίκημά τι πράξαντα ἐλεγχόμενον, ὀνόματος δὲ Χριστιανοῦ προσωνυμίαν ὁμολογοῦντα τὸν ἄνθρωπον τοῦτον ἐκολάσω;* Your judgement, Urbicus, ill befits the emperor Pius, or the emperor's son the Philosopher, or the sacred senate." Urbicus replied: "You too seem to me to be one of them." "Certainly." He was sentenced and returned thanks. Tert. scorp. 10 p. 523 l. 15 Oehler *ipsum* nominis odium. ibid. p. 524 l. 10 *et* odium nominis *hic erit, et persecutio hic erumpit.* 11 p. 526 l. 4 from foot *odio habemur ab omnibus hominibus* nominis causa, *quomodo scriptum est.*

p. 114 l. 4 QVID ENIM INIQVIVS, QVAM VT ODERINT HOMINES QVOD IGNORANT, ETIAM SI RES MERETVR ODIVM? ep. ad Diognet. 5 fin. *τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ἔχθρας εἰπεῖν οἱ μισοῦντες οὐκ ἔχουσιν.*

p. 114 l. 7 VACANTE...MERITI NOTITIA c. 11 p. 158 l. penult. uacat *ex hac parte causa.* c. 18 p. 187 l. 1 *sed ne* notitia uacaret.

p. 114 l. 12 TESTIMONIVM IGNORANTIAE EST, QVAE INIQVITATEM DVM EXCVSAT, CONDEMNAT cet. ad nat. I 1 pr. p. 59 Wiss. testimonium ignorantiae uestrae quae iniquitatem dum defendit, reuincit, in promptu est, quod omnes qui uobiscum retro ignorabant et uobiscum oderant, simul eis contigit scire, desinunt odisse quia desinunt ignorare, immo fiunt et ipsi quod oderant et incipiunt odisse quod fuerant.

p. 114 l. ult. OBSESSAM VOCIFERANTVR CIVITATEM cet. c. 37 pp. 250 251. ad nat. I 1 p. 98 l. 8 seq. Blunt Right Use 275, 277, 279. Kaye 85 seq. Vales. on Eus. h. e. IV 17. Lucian. Antioch. in Rufin. interpr. Eus. h. e. IX 6 (= Routh Reliq. sacr.

IV^2 p. 6 l. 26) *pars paene mundi iam maior huic ueritati adstipulatur; urbes integrae, aut si in his aliquid suspectum uidetur, contestatur de his etiam agrestis manus, ignara figmenti.* Eus. p. e. I 1 § 6 p. 3^a universality of the call, 3 § 10 p. 8^b, § 15 p. 9^d universality of the preaching, through all lands.

p. 115 l. 2 DIGNITATEM not only the lowborn and ignorant became Christians Blunt Right Use ser. 2 lect. 2 pp. 294–317. Renan, l'Antéchrist 3 (Pomponia Graecina). Orig. c. Cels. III 9 p. 117 pr. *νῦν μὲν οὖν τάχα, ὅτε διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν προσερχομένων τῷ λόγῳ καὶ πλούσιοί καί τινες τῶν ἐν ἀξιώμασι καὶ γυναῖα τὰ ἁβρὰ καὶ εὐγενῆ ἀποδέχονται τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου, τολμήσει τις λέγειν διὰ τὸ δοξάριον προΐστασθαί τινας τῆς κατὰ Χριστιανοὺς διδασκαλίας.* III 12 p. m. *οὕτω τοίνυν, ἐπεὶ σεμνόν τι ἐφάνη τοῖς ἀνθρώποις Χριστιανισμός, οὐ μόνον, ὡς ὁ Κέλσος οἴεται, τοῖς ἀνδραποδωδεστέροις, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλοῖς τῶν παρ' Ἕλλησι φιλολόγων, ἀναγκαίως ὑπέστησαν, οὐ πάντως διὰ στάσεις καὶ τὸ φιλόνεικον, αἱρέσεις, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ σπουδάζειν συνιέναι τὰ Χριστιανισμοῦ καὶ τῶν φιλολόγων πλείονας.* cf. c. 44—71. VII 54 f. (of the words of Jesus) *δυνάμει λελέχθαι θείᾳ, μέχρι δεῦρο ἐπιστρέφοντας οὐ τῶν ἁπλουστέρων τινὰς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν συνετωτέρων.* Rufin. h. e. V 21.

p. 115 l. 6 AMANT IGNORARE ignorance of Crescens Iustin apol. II 3. Demand for enquiry id. apol. I 3.

p. 115 l. 8 IMPRVDENTES DE PRVDENTIBVS IVDICANTES ad mart. 1 p 3 *nec tantus ego sum, ut uos alloquar. uerumtamen et gladiatores perfectissimos non tantum magistri et praepositi sui, sed etiam idiotae et superuacui quique adhortantur de longinquo, ut saepe de ipso populo dictata suggesta profuerint.*

p. 115 l. 9 MALVNT NESCIRE cet. ad nat. I 1 p. 59 l. 15 Wiss. Minuc. 27 § 8 (of demons) *sic occupant animos et obstruunt pectora, ut ante nos incipiant homines odisse quam nosse, ne cognitos aut imitari possint aut damnare non possint.*

p. 115 l. 14 SED NON IDEO, INQVIT, BONVM, QVIA MVLTOS CONVERTIT cet. to the end of c. 1. cf. ad nat. I 1 p. 59 l. 20—60 l. 16.

INQVIT 'they say.' c. 31 p. 235 l. ult. Iuv. III 153 n. (pp. 198, 373). XIV 153 n. Arnob. I 3. 34. III 6. Bünemann on Lact. de ira Dei 19 § 7.

p. 116 l. 1 DINVMERANT IN SEMETIPSOS MENTIS MALAE IMPETVS, VEL FATO VEL ASTRIS IMPVTANT "either they tell up against themselves the outbursts of an evil mind, or (if they excuse themselves) they make their destiny or their star responsible."

IMPVTANT de paenit. 6 a. m. p. 654 l. 6 *quis enim seruus, postquam libertate mutatus est, furta sua et fugas sibi* imputat? cf. on the stars as a scapegoat Iul. Firm. math. I 1 in Heraldus.

p. 116 l. 3 CHRISTIANVS VERO QVID SIMILE? c. 2 pr. *quodcumque dicimur.* ibid. p. 117 l. 4 *de nobis nihil tale.* c. 8 p. 141 l. antepen. *homo es et ipse, quod et Christianus...homo est enim et Christianus et quod et tu.*

NEMINEM PVDET, NEMINEM PAENITET, NISI PLANE RETRO NON FVISSE Minuc. 28 § 2 *malum autem adeo non esse, ut Christianus reus nec erubesceret nec timeret, et* unum solummodo, quod non ante fuerit, paeniteret.

p. 116 l. 5 SI ACCVSATVR, NON DEFENDIT Lact. V 20 § 10 *ideo cum tam nefanda perpetimur, ne uerbo quidem reluctamur, sed Deo remittimus ultionem.*

p. 116 l. 6 DAMNATVS GRATIAS AGIT c. 46 p. m. p. 284 l. 4 Christianus etiam damnatus gratias agit. 50 f. (note) p. 302 l. 2 *inde est quod ibidem* sententiis uestris gratias agimus. *ut est aemulatio diuinae rei et humanae, cum damnamur a uobis, a Deo absoluimur.* 1 Cor. 4 12. Iustin apol. II 2 f. p. 43^{c} Lucius, defending Ptolemaeus, and confessing himself a Christian, is ordered for execution: *ὁ δὲ καὶ χάριν εἰδέναι ὡμολόγει, πονηρῶν δεσποτῶν τῶν τοιούτων ἀπηλλάχθαι γινώσκων καὶ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα καὶ βασιλέα τῶν οὐρανῶν πορεύεσθαι, καὶ ἄλλος δὲ τρίτος ἐπελθὼν κολασθῆναι προσετιμήθη.* Aug. serm. 309 4 (reply of Cyprian to the sentence of death) Deo gratias! Le Blant les actes des martyrs 237—8.

c. 2 cf. c. 46 'why have we not the same impunity as philosophers?'

p. 116 l. 17 CHRISTIANIS SOLIS NIHIL PERMITTITVR LOQVI QVOD CAVSAM PVRGET Iulitta, winning her case against one who had embezzled the greater part of her estate, was by him denounced as a Christian. Refusing to sacrifice, she was condemned to the stake (Basil. hom. de diuersis v in mart. Iulittam, II 33^{a}—43^{c}).

p. 116 l. 19 ILLVD SOLVM EXSPECTATVR QVOD ODIO PVBLICO NECESSARIVM EST, CONFESSIO NOMINIS, NON EXAMINATIO CRIMINIS cet. Iustin apol. I 4 pr. p. 54^{d}—55^{b} ὀνόματος μὲν οὖν προσωνυμία οὔτε ἀγαθὸν οὔτε κακὸν κρίνεται ἄνευ τῶν ὑποπιπτουσῶν τῷ ὀνόματι πράξεων· ἐπεί, ὅσον γε ἐκ τοῦ κατηγορουμένου ἡμῶν ὀνόματος, χρηστότατοι ὑπάρχομεν. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ οὐ τοῦτο δίκαιον ἡγούμεθα, διὰ τὸ ὄνομα, ἐὰν κακοὶ ἐλεγχώμεθα, αἰτεῖν ἀφίεσθαι, πάλιν, εἰ μηδὲν διά τε τὴν προσηγορίαν τοῦ ὀνόματος καὶ διὰ τὴν πολιτείαν εὑρισκόμεθα ἀδικοῦντες, ὑμέτερον ἀγωνιᾶσαί ἐστι μὴ ἀδικῶς κολάζοντες τοὺς μὴ ἐλεγχομένους τῇ δίκῃ κόλασιν ὀφλήσητε. ἐξ ὀνόματος γὰρ ἢ ἔπαινος ἢ κόλασις οὐκ ἂν εὐλόγως γένοιτο, ἢν μή τι ἐνάρετον ἢ φαῦλον δι' ἔργων ἀποδείκνυσθαι δύνηται. καὶ γὰρ τοὺς κατηγορουμένους ἐφ' ὑμῶν πάντας πρὶν ἐλεγχθῆναι οὐ τιμωρεῖτε, ἐφ' ἡμῶν δὲ τὸ ὄνομα ὡς ἔλεγχον λαμβάνετε, καίπερ, ὅσον γε ἐκ τοῦ ὀνόματος, τοὺς κατηγοροῦντας μᾶλλον κολάζειν ὀφείλετε. Χριστιανοὶ γὰρ εἶναι κατηγορούμεθα· τὸ δὲ χρηστὸν μισεῖσθαι οὐ δίκαιον. καὶ πάλιν ἐὰν μέν τις τῶν κατηγορουμένων ἔξαρνος γένηται τῇ φωνῇ μὴ εἶναι φήσας, ἀφίετε αὐτὸν ὡς μηδὲν ἐλέγχειν ἔχοντες ἁμαρτάνοντα, ἐὰν δέ τις ὁμολογήσῃ εἶναι, διὰ τὴν ὁμολογίαν κολάζετε· δέον καὶ τὸν τοῦ ὁμολογοῦντος βιον εὐθύνειν καὶ τὸν τοῦ ἀρνουμένου, ὅπως διὰ τῶν πράξεων ὁποῖός ἐστιν ἕκαστος φαίνηται. Athenag. 2 p. 3^{bc} καὶ γὰρ οὐ πρὸς τῆς ὑμετέρας δικαιοσύνης τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους, αἰτίαν λαβόντας ἀδικημάτων, μὴ πρότερον ἢ ἐλεγχθῆναι κολάζεσθαι, ἐφ' ἡμῶν δὲ μεῖζον ἰσχύειν τὸ ὄνομα τῶν ἐπὶ τῇ δίκῃ ἐλέγχων, οὐκ εἰ ἠδίκησέ τι ὁ κρινόμενος τῶν δικαζόντων ἐπιζητούντων, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ ὄνομα ὡς εἰς ἀδίκημα ἐνυβριζόντων. οὐδὲν δὲ ὄνομα ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ οὔτε πονηρὸν οὔτε χρηστὸν νομίζεται, διὰ δὲ τὰς ὑποκειμένας αὐτοῖς ἢ πονηρὰς ἢ ἀγαθὰς πράξεις ἢ φλαῦρα ἢ ἀγαθὰ δοκεῖ.

p. 116 l. ult. NON STATIM CONFESSO EO NOMEN HOMICIDAE VEL SACRILEGI...CONTENTI SITIS AD PRONVNTIANDVM cet. Tatian 27 pr. p. 164^{a} πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἄτοπον τὸν μὲν λῃστὴν διὰ τὸ ἐπικατηγορούμενον ὄνομα μὴ κολάζειν, πρὶν ἂν τἀληθὲς ἐπ' ἀκριβείᾳ καταμανθάνειν, ἡμᾶς δὲ προλήμματι λοιδορίας ἀνεξετάστῳ μεμισηκέναι; Lact. V 1 § 2 *ab hoc* < the pagan reader >

tamen si fieri potest humanitatis iure postulamus, ut non prius damnet quam uniuersa cognouerit. nam si sacrilegis *et proditoribus et ueneficis potestas defendendi sui datur nec praedamnari quemquam incognita causa licet, non iniuste petere uidemur, ut si quis erit ille qui inciderit in haec, si leget, perlegat, si audiet, sententiam differat in extremum.*

p. 117 l. 2 PVBLICI HOSTIS cf. below in this chapter p. 119 l. 2 *in reos maiestatis et* publicos hostes *omnis homo miles est.* c. 35 pr. p. 240 l. ult. *propterea igitur* publici hostes *Christiani, quia imperatoribus neque uanos neque mentientes neque temerarios honores dicant.*

ELOGIIS 24 m. p. 218 l. 3. de cor. 5 f. Oehler. Neumann der röm. Staat u. d. allg. Kirche I (Leipz. 1890) 33 n. 1.

p. 117 l. 6 INFANTICIDIA...INCESTA Minuc. 28 § 2 *et nos enim idem fecimus et eadem uobiscum quondam adhuc caeci et hebetes sentiebamus, quasi Christiani monstra colerent,* infantes uorarent, conuiuia incesta miscerent; *nec intellegebamus fabulas istas semper uentilari et numquam uel inuestigari uel probari, nec tanto tempore aliquem exsistere qui proderet, non tantum facti ueniam, uerum etiam indicii gratiam consecuturum.* Iustin apol. I 26 p. 70^{bc} (cf. Otto n. 14 on c. 10 f. p. 58^{d}), speaking of Gnostics (cf. Otto n. 30) *εἰ δὲ καὶ τὰ δύσφημα ἐκεῖνα μυθολογούμενα ἔργα πράττουσι, λυχνίας μὲν ἀνατροπὴν καὶ τὰς ἀνέδην μίξεις καὶ ἀνθρωπείων σαρκῶν βοράς, οὐ γινώσκομεν.* cf. c. 29 pr. p. 71^{e} *ἡ ἀνέδην μίξις.* Tat. 25 fin. p. 163^{d} *παρ' ἡμῖν οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνθρωποφαγία.* 32 p. 167^{b} *τὰ δὲ τῆς ἀσελγείας πόρρω κεχώρισται.* Athenag. 3 pr. p. 4^{c} *τρία ἐπιφημίζουσιν ἡμῖν ἐγκλήματα, ἀθεότητα, Θυεστεῖα δεῖπνα, Οἰδιποδείους μίξεις* (cf. Otto n. 1). 31 pr. p. 34^{d} (Otto n. 1). Theophil. ad Autol. speaks of cannibalism III 3 p. 118^{d}. 4 p. 119^{b} (Otto n. 4). 5 p. 119^{c}—120^{d}. 8 p. 122^{c}. 15 p. 126^{d}; of incest 3 p. 118^{d}. 4 p. 119^{b}. 6 p. 120^{a-d}. 8 p. 122^{c}. 15 p. 126^{d}; retorting the charges on gods and philosophers. In the persecution at Lugudunum some heathen slaves, from fear of torture (Eus. h. e. V 1 § 14) *κατεψεύσαντο ἡμῶν Θυέστεια δεῖπνα καὶ Οἰδιποδείους μίξεις.* Byblias, who had denied the faith, recovered her constancy on the rack, asking (ibid. §§ 25 26) *πῶς ἂν παιδία φάγοιεν οἱ τοιοῦτοι, οἷς* *μηδὲ ἀλόγων ζῴων αἷμα φαγεῖν ἐξόν;* A.D. 311, under Maximin (Eus. h. e. IX 5 § 2). the commandant of the garrison at Damascus compelled prostitutes to confess that they had once been Christians, *συνειδεῖέν τε αὐτοῖς ἀθεμιτουργίας, ἐν αὐτοῖς τε τοῖς κυριακοῖς πράττειν αὐτοὺς τὰ ἀκόλαστα.* Origen c. Cels. VI 27 f. 40 pr. traces these calumnies to the Jews; in his day most even of the heathen refused to credit them. cf. Lightfoot Ignatius I pp. 52 53. On the chastity of Christians cf. Tert. c. 38 f. p. 253 f. 39 p. 262 seq.

p. 117 l. 10 PLINIVS cf. Eus. h. e. III 33. My Bibliographical Clue to Latin Literature pp. 146—7 gives the literature on Plin. ep. 96—97 up to 1875. Add Renan les évangiles 469—484 and in Journ. des Sav. 1876 p. 725 seq. Keim Rom und das Christenthum Berlin 1881 512—8 and ind. s. v. Plinius. Boissier Les Chrétiens devant la législation rom. (Rev. d. Deux Mondes 13 Apr. 1876), and on the authenticity of Pliny's letter and the earliest persecutions id. in Rev. Archéol. 1876 Febr. and June. J. Variot, Les Lettres de Pline le jeune, correspondance avec Trajan relativement aux Chrétiens de Pont et de Bithynie (Rev. des Questions Historiques, July 1878, pp. 80—153) and id. De Plinio iuniore et imperatore Traiano apud Christianos et de Christianis apud Plinium iuniorem et imperatorem Traianum. Par. 1878. 8vo. Arnold Studien zur Geschichte der Plinianischen Christenverfolgung. 1877. My notes in Classical Review IV (1890) 121—3. Lightfoot Ignatius I pp. 50—56; pp. 57—62 comment on Tert. h. l. and Eus. For other works of Overbeck, Aubé, Allard, see Holzmann and Zöpffel, Lex. f. Theologie², Braunschweig, 1888, s. v. Christenverfolgungen. See esp. K. J. Neumann der röm. Staat u. die allg. Kirche bis auf Diocletian I (Leipzig 1890) 17—33.

p. 117 l. penult. OBSTINATIONEM c. 50 f. p. 301 l. 11 *illa ipsa* obstinatio, *quam exprobratis, magistra est.*

p. 118 l. 5 NEGAT INQVIRENDOS VT INNOCENTES Blunt Right Use 348. Hadrian ep. ad Minucium Fundanum A.D. 125 according to Clinton, or A.D. 126 (Haenel corpus legum, Lips. 1857, pp. 86 87), the substance of which is given by Oros. VII 13 § 2 *praecepit per epistulam ad Minucium Fundanum proconsule Asiae datum, ut nemini liceret Christianos sine obiectu* *criminis aut probatione damnare.* On the question of authenticity see Otto on Iustin apol. I 69 p. 99^d n. 1. Lightfoot Ignatius I^1 442, 460—4. 522 where he (after Rigault) finds an allusion to Hadrian's rescript to Fundanus in the *mandatum* of Tertull. ad Scap. 4 (p. 547 l. 1) *Pudens etiam missum ad se Christianum in elogio concussione eius intellecta dimisit, scisso eodem elogio, sine accusatore negans se auditurum hominem secundum mandatum.* Melito apol. to Marcus Aurelius (Eus. h. e. IV 26 § 10) says of Antoninus Pius *ὁ δὲ πατήρ σου...ταῖς πόλεσι περὶ τοῦ μηδὲν νεωτερίζειν περὶ ἡμῶν ἔγραψεν* (cf. Lightfoot l. c. p. 443). Athenag. 3 p. 4^d (to Marcus Aurelius and Commodus) *καὶ τοῦ μηδὲν τούτων ἀδικεῖν ὑμεῖς μάρτυρες, κελεύοντες μὴ μηνύειν· πρὸς ὑμῶν λοιπὸν ἐξέτασιν ποιήσασθαι βίου, δογμάτων, τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ τὸν ὑμέτερον οἶκον καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν σπουδῆς καὶ ὑπακοῆς.* Under Commodus (Eus. h. e. V 21 § 3) the accuser of Apollonius had his legs broken by sentence of Perennius.

p. 119 l. 9 CETERIS NEGANTIBVS TORMENTA ADHIBETIS AD CONFITENDVM, SOLIS CHRISTIANIS AD NEGANDVM ad Scap. 4 pr. p. 546 l. 4 *quid enim amplius tibi mandatur, quam* nocentes confessos damnare, negantes autem ad tormenta reuocare? *uidetis ergo, quomodo ipsi uos contra mandata faciatis,* ut confessos negare cogatis. *adeo confitemini innocentes esse nos, quos damnare statim ex confessione non uultis.* Cypr. ad Demetrian. 13 pr. (p. 360 16) *quin potius elege tibi alterum de duobus: Christianum esse aut est crimen aut non est.* si crimen est, quid non interficis confitentem? si crimen non est, quid persequeris innocentem? torqueri enim debui, si negarem. *si poenam tuam metuens id quod prius fueram et quod deos tuos non colueram mendacio fallente celarem, tunc torquendus fuissem, tunc* ad confessionem criminis cum ui doloris adigendus, sicut in quaestionibus ceteris torquentur rei qui se negant crimine quo accusantur teneri, *ut facinoris ueritas quae indice uoce non promitur dolore corporis exprimatur. nunc uero* cum sponte confitear et clamem et crebris et repetitis identidem uocibus Christianum me esse contester, quid tormenta admoues confitenti, *et deos tuos non in abditis et secretis locis* *sed palam, sed publice, sed in foro ipso magistratibus et praesidibus audientibus destruenti?* Ambr. de Cain et Abel II 9 § 27 *in iudiciis saecularibus impositi eculeo torquentur negantes, et quaedam tangit iudicem miseratio confitentis.....mitigat iudicem pudor reorum, excitat autem pertinacia denegantium.*

p. 120 l. 1 SI NON ITA AGITIS CIRCA NOS NOCENTES c. 6 p. 134 l. 7 circa *feminas quidem etiam illa maiorum instituta ceciderunt.* ibid. p. 135 l. 9 *etiam* circa *ipsos deos uestros quae prospecte decreuerant patres uestri.* Often in Quintil., the two Plinys, Tac., Suet. Burman on Quintil. decl. I § 7 *quid* circa *te pecunia potest?* 4 § 7 *affectus* circa *liberos.* Dräger hist. Synt. I 576.

p. 120 l. 4 VOCIFERATVR HOMO: CHRISTIANVS SVM c. 21 p. m. p. 204 l. penult. *dicimus, et palam dicimus, et nobis torquentibus lacerati et cruenti* uociferamur. *Deum colimus per Christum.* de corona mil. 1 p. 416 l. 2 *statim tribunus 'cur' inquit 'tam diuersus habitus?' negauit ille sibi cum ceteris licere. causas expostulatus* 'Christianus sum' *respondit.* Scorpiace c. 9 the latter half (e.g. p. 164 l. 17 Wiss. *qui se Christianum confitetur, Christi se esse testatur*). passio Perpetuae 6 (p. 70 l. 16 Robinson) *Hilarianus* <procurator> 'Christiana es?' *inquit. et ego respondi* 'Christiana sum.' acta mart. Scillit. p. 114 l. 11—23 ed. Robinson. Iustin apol. II 2 p. 42^{cde}. 43^{a}. acta Iustini c. 3 f. 4 (the whole). 5 f. *ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ μάρτυρες εἶπον· 'ποίει ὃ θέλεις. ἡμεῖς γὰρ Χριστιανοί ἐσμεν καὶ εἰδώλοις οὐ θύομεν.'* Theophil. ad Autol. I 1 p. 69^{b} *ἔτι δὲ φῂς με Χριστιανὸν ὡς κακὸν τοὔνομα φοροῦντα, ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ὁμολογῶ εἶναι Χριστιανός, καὶ φορῶ τὸ θεοφιλὲς ὄνομα τοῦτο ἐλπίζων εὔχρηστος εἶναι τῷ θεῷ.* So the Gallic martyrs Eus. h. e. V 1 § 19 (Blandina). § 20 (Sanctus) *πρὸς πάντα τὰ ἐπερωτώμενα ἀπεκρινατο τῇ Ῥωμαϊκῇ φωνῇ 'Χριστιανός εἰμι.'* § 26 (Byblias). VIII 3 § 3 (under Diocletian) *ἄλλος Χριστιανὸς εἶναι ἐκεκράγει, τῇ τοῦ σωτηρίου προσρήματος ὁμολογίᾳ λαμπρυνόμενος.* Eus. mart. Pal. 3 § 3. acta Felicis (ad calc. Optati, ed. Du Pin, Par. 1702) p. 147 col. 1 med. *cui Anulinus proconsul dixit 'quod tibi nomen est?' Felix episcopus dixit* 'Christianus sum.' *Anulinus proconsul dixit 'non te de uocabulo quaesiui professionis, sed percunctatus sum* *quo nomine nuncuperis.' Felix episcopus dixit 'sicut tibi iam dixi, hoc nunc et iterum dico, quia* Christianus sum *et episcopus.'* Cf. acta Saturnini cet. c. 4 seq. (ibid. p. 151 col. 2 f. seq.) often. acta Eupli (p. 438 Ruinart). Lucifer Calagurr. moriendum esse pro Dei filio 2 (p. 287 12 Hartel) *cernimus una hac uoce religiosa* 'Christianus sum, *nolo esse ut tu es, Constantius, apostata' omne crimen excludi...et tu inquis* 'negate uos Christianos.' Victor Vitens. III § 50 (= V 14) *infantulo* clamante *ut poterat:* 'Christianus sum, Christianus sum, *per sanctum Stephanum* Christianus sum.' Rufin. h. e. VII 12 p. 415. VIII 3 p. 467.

p. 120 l. 6 VERITATIS EXTORQVENDAE PRAESIDES (cf. Kaye p. 48) DE NOBIS SOLIS MENDACIVM ELABORATIS AVDIRE Minuc. 28 § 3 *nos* <i.e. while yet heathens> *tamen cum sacrilegos aliquos et incestos, parricidas etiam defendendos et tuendos suscipiebamus, hos nec audiendos in totum putabamus, nonnumquam etiam miserantes eorum crudelius saeuiebamus,* ut torqueremus confitentes ad negandum, *uidelicet ne perirent, exercentes in his peruersam quaestionem* non quae uerum erueret, sed quae mendacium cogeret. Iustin cited on p. 116 l. 19.

p. 120 l. 11 NE QVA VIS LATEAT IN OCCVLTO the Evil Spirit infr. p. 122 l. 5 *quaedam ratio aemulae operationis.* cf. c. 22. 27 p. 227 l. 2 *ille scilicet spiritus daemoniacae et angelicae paraturae, qui noster ob diuortium aemulus et ob Dei gratiam inuidus de mentibus uestris aduersus nos proeliatur* occulta inspiratione *modulatis.* c. 32. Iustin apol. I 5.

p. 120 l. 11 12 QVAE VOS ADVERSUS FORMAM...IVDICANDI CONTRA IPSAS QVOQVE LEGES MINISTRET cf. c. 21 p. 201 l. 4 *elementa ipsa* famularet. de carne Christi 12 (II p. 447 l. ult.) *sine qua notitia sui nulla anima* se ministrare *potuisset.* The usual sense of *ministro* (*uiros, uires animumque* cet.) may hold here: 'without self-knowledge no soul could have rendered its services;' and in the text: 'this mysterious power makes tools of you, lends your services.'

p. 121 l. 4 DEBITO POENAE NOCENS EXPVNGENDVS EST, NON EXIMENDVS *eximere* (cf. exemption) is the office of mercy, *expungere* of justice (the full satisfaction of all claims). c. 15 f.

libidinem. c. 20 f. (of time). c. 21 p. 200 l. 6 of the first advent 'iam expunctus est' (fulfilled in every predicted detail). c. 35 p. 242 l. 6 (with Oehler's note) *cur enim uota et gaudia Caesarum casti et sobrii et probi* expungimus? cf. c. 44 pr. *qui sententiis elogia* dispungitis (clear off the police sheet by sentencing the accused to their several punishments). de orat. 9 pr. (p. 187 l. 1 Wiss.) *quot simul* expunguntur *officia!* de corona mil. 1 pr. (I p. 416, with Oehler's note) *liberalitas praestantissimorum imperatorum* expungebatur *in castris.* de an. 35 pr. (p. 360 l. 9 Wiss.). 55 pr. (p. 387 l. 25) *Christo in corde terrae triduum mortis legimus* expunctum. adv. Marc. II 20 f. (II 109 l. ult.) *suum populum in tempore expeditionis* <of the Exodus> *aliquo solacio tacitae compensationis* expunxit. III. 5 (p. 126 l. 19) *et diuinationi propheticae magis familiare est id quod prospiciat, dum prospicit, iam uisum atque ita iam* expunctum, *id est omni modo futurum, demonstrare.* 11 (p. 136 l. 11). 12 (p. 137 l. 8 up). 17 (p. 145 five lines from end of ch.). 20 pr. (p. 149 l. 8). 23 pr. (p. 154 l. 11). 24 a.m. (p. 156 l. 15). IV 16 (p. 198 l. 4) *coepit* expungi *quod dictum est per Osee.* 20 a.m. (p. 208 l. 11) *nam cum transfretat, psalmus* expungitur (cf. c. 40 p. 267 l. 10)....*cum undas freti discutit, Abacuc* adimpletur. 22 p.m. (p. 218 l. 17). 29 a.m. (p. 238 l. 8) *ut quod supra distuli* expunxerim. 34 p.m. (p. 250 l. 8 up) *donec consummatio rerum resurrectionem omnium plenitudine mercedis* expungat. 39 prope f. (p. 266 l. 15) *si quae a Creatore sunt, merito sustinebunt elementa domini sui ordinem* expungi, *si quae a Deo optimo, nescio an sustineat caelum et terra* perfici *quae aemulus statuit.* V 7 f. (p. 295 l. 6 up).

p. 121 l. 7 CHRISTIANVM HOMINEM OMNIVM SCELERVM REVM...EXISTIMAS, ET COGIS NEGARE, VT ABSOLVAS *et* 'and yet' c. 37 (p. 251 l. ult.) *hesterni sumus* et *uestra omnia impleuimus.* Iuv. VII 124 n. XIII 91 n. Holden on Minuc. 12 § 2. 24 § 2.

p. 122 l. 5 NOMEN, QVOD QVAEDAM RATIO AEMVLAE OPERATIONIS INSEQVITVR, HOC PRIMVM AGENS, VT HOMINES NOLINT SCIRE PRO CERTO QVOD SE NESCIRE PRO CERTO SCIVNT Iustin apol. I 5 pr. (p. 55^{d}) τί δὴ τοῦτ' ἂν εἴη; ἐφ' ἡμῶν, ὑπισχνουμένων μηδὲν ἀδικεῖν μηδὲ τὰ ἄθεα ταῦτα δοξάζειν, οὐ κρίσεις ἐξετάζετε, ἀλλ' ἀλόγῳ πάθει καὶ μάστιγι δαιμόνων φαύλων *ἐξελαυνόμενοι, ἀκρίτως κολάζετε μὴ φροντίζοντες.* Tert. apol. c. 5 (p. 131 l. 9) *tales semper nobis* insecutores. 21 (p. 204 l. 5) *a Iudaeis* insequentibus *multa perpessi.* c. 50 pr. (p. 297) '*ergo*' *inquitis* '*cur querimini quod uos* insequamur?' In Tert. de an. 20 *Deus dominus* is opposed to *diabolus aemulus.*

p. 122 l. antepen. IDEO TORQVEMUR CONFITENTES....ET ABSOLVIMVR NEGANTES, QVIA NOMINIS PROELIVM EST Orig. c. Cels. II 13 (p. 68) Christians alone punished for opinions. Epicureans overthrow providence, Peripatetics deny the efficacy of prayer and are unmolested. It may be said that Samaritans are persecuted for religion. No, the Sicarii are put to death for practising circumcision, a rite allowed to Jews alone. *καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀκοῦσαι δικαστοῦ πυνθανομένου, εἰ κατὰ τήνδε τὴν νομιζομένην θεοσέβειαν ὁ Σικάριος ἀγωνιζόμενος βιοῦν, μεταθέμενος μὲν ἀπολυθήσεται, ἐμμένων δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἀπαχθήσεται. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἀρκεῖ δειχθεῖσα ἡ περιτομὴ πρὸς ἀναίρεσιν τοῦ πεπονθότος αὐτήν.* Tert. Scorpiace 11 pr. *ipsi denique praesides cum cohortantur* negationi: '*serua animam tuam*', *dicunt, et* '*noli animam tuam perdere.*'

p. 123 l. 1 SI HOMICIDA CHRISTIANVS, CVR NON ET INCESTVS VEL QVODCVNQVE ALIVD ESSE NOS CREDITIS? 1 Pet. 2 12. 3 16. 4 14.

p. 123 l. 4 CHRISTIANVS SI NVLLIVS CRIMINIS REVS EST, NOMEN VALDE INCESTVM, SI SOLIVS NOMINIS CRIMEN EST Athenag. 1 p. 2^{b} *ὑμῖν δὲ (καὶ μὴ παρακρουσθῆτε ὡς οἱ πολλοὶ ἐξ ἀκοῆς) τὸ ὄνομα τί ἀπεχθάνεται; οὐ γὰρ τὰ ὀνόματα μίσους ἄξια, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀδίκημα δίκης καὶ τιμωρίας.* ibid.^{c} *ἐπὶ μόνῳ ὀνόματι προσπολεμούντων ἡμῖν τῶν πολλῶν.* cf. c. 2. Arnob. II 1 pr. *quid causae est quod tam grauibus insectamini Christum bellis, uel quas eius continetis offensas, ut ad eius* nominis *mentionem rabidorum pectorum efferuescatis ardoribus?* With Tert. c. 2—4 cf. Iustin apol. I 4.

c. 3 pr. VT BONVM ALICVI TESTIMONIVM FERENTES ADMISCEANT NOMINIS EXPROBRATIONEM innocence of Christians c. 45 pr. Iustin apol. I 14 15. Lact. III 26. ep. ad Diognet. c. 5 6. Semisch Justin II 191 seq. Neander I (1)^{2} 428 seq.

ibid. GAÏVS SEIVS...LVCIVM TITIVM Iuv. IV 13 n.

p. 123 l. 10 NEMO RETRACTAT, NE IDEO BONVS GAÏVS..., QVIA CHRISTIANVS on *ne* (= *μή*) see Oehler on c. 2 p. 121 n. x. adu. Marc. V 16 (II p. 321 l. 4 up) *secundum uero Marcionem nescio* ne *sit Christus creatoris.* Rönsch Itala u. Vulgata 400. gesta apud Zenophilum (Routh reliq. sacr. IV^2 325 l. 4 and 7) *quaere* ne *plus habeatis.....quaere,* ne *plus habeat.* Aug. de peccato originali 17 § 18 *quis enim scit,* ne *forte det illis Deus paenitentiam!* Aug. c. D. I 28 pr. (I 44 14 Dombart) *interrogate fideliter animas uestras,* ne *forte de isto integritatis....bono uos inflatius extulistis.* Irenaeus V 30 3 *ut ex multis colligamus* ne *forte Titan uocetur.* Hermes XXV 124 l. 2 *interrogari* ne. Greg. dial. III 37 (p. 361^{ab} Ben.) *aspexit* ne. Victor Vitens. III § 50 (= V 14) *cogitauit impietas Ariana a parentibus paruulos filios separare,* ne *posset per pietatis affectum etiam uirtutem prosternere genitorum.*

p. 124 l. 1 EX IPSO DENOTANT, QVOD LAVDANT *quam lasciua! quam festiua! quam amasius!* meant as praise by the heathen, sound in christian ears as a reproach.

p. 124 l. 3 FACTI SVNT CHRISTIANI de cult. fem. II 11 f. (I 731) *grandis blasphemia est, ex qua dicatur: 'ex quo* facta est Christiana *pauperius incedit.'*

p. 124 l. 3 ITA NOMEN EMENDATIONI IMPVTATVR 'thus reform is taxed with the name.' Those who are no longer giddy, are charged with the name of Christian as a crime.

p. 124 l. 4 NONNVLLI ETIAM DE VTILITATIBVS SVIS CVM ODIO ISTO PACISCVNTVR they sacrifice their interests to this hatred, make a bargain with this hatred at the cost of their interests. c. 50 p. 299 l. penult. *omitto eos qui* cum *gladio proprio uel alio genere mortis mitiore* de *laude* pepigerant.

p. 124 l. 6 VXOREM IAM PVDICAM MARITVS IAM NON ZELOTYPVS...ABDICAVIT ad nat. I 4 p. 64 l. 24 Wiss. *scio maritum unum atque alium, anxium retro de uxoris suae moribus, qui ne mures quidem in cubiculum inrepentes sine gemitu suspicionis sustinebat, comperta causa nouae sedulitatis et inusitatae captiuitatis omnem uxori patientiam obtulisse*[1], *negasse* <se> zelotypum, *maluisse* <se> *lupae quam Christianae maritum: ipsi*

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[1] Oehler strangely: 'omnem u. p. o.] h. e. repudium scripsisse.' Rather, 'offered to wink at every infidelity.'

suam licuit in peruersum demutare naturam, mulieri non permisit in melius reformari. cf. ad uxor. II 7. See the story of a reformed wife denounced as a Christian by her husband (Iustin apol. II 2 p. 41^{e} seq.). cf. what follows here and ad nat. about the son abdicated (the rhetoricians *passim.* Quintil. VII 4 §§ 26 27) and the slave sent on the land. Blunt Right Use 376—7. Kaye 130—1.

p. 124 l. 7 SERVVM IAM FIDELEM DOMINVS OLIM MITIS AB OCVLIS RELEGAVIT de idolol. 17 pr. (p. 50 l. 10 Wiss.) *ceterum quid facient* serui *uel* liberti *fideles, item officiales sacrificantibus dominis uel patronis uel praesidibus suis adhaerentes? sed si merum quis sacrificanti tradiderit, immo si uerbo quoque aliquo sacrificio necessario adiuuerit, minister habebitur idololatriae.* cf. Blunt Right Use 378. Slaves sent into the country as a punishment Iuv. VIII 180 n. Journal of Philology XX 279 280. Petron. 69 *sic me saluum habeatis, ut ego sic solebam ipsumam meam debattuere, ut etiam dominus suspicaretur; et ideo me* in uilicationem relegauit.

p. 124 l. ult. NVNC IGITVR, SI NOMINIS ODIVM EST, QVIS NOMINVM REATVS? cet. cf. n. on p. 116 l. 19 and ult. Iustin apol. I 7 f. (p. 56^{e}) *ὅθεν πάντων τῶν καταγγελλομένων ὑμῖν τὰς πράξεις κρίνεσθαι ἀξιοῦμεν, ἵνα ὁ ἐλεγχθεὶς ὡς ἄδικος κολάζηται, ἀλλὰ μὴ ὡς Χριστιανός· ἐὰν δέ τις ἀνέλεγκτος φαίνηται, ἀπολύηται ὡς Χριστιανὸς οὐδὲν ἀδικῶν.* Athenag. 2 (p. 3^{d}) *τὸ τοίνυν πρὸς ἅπαντας ἴσον καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀξιοῦμεν, μὴ ὅτι Χριστιανοὶ λεγόμεθα μισεῖσθαι καὶ κολάζεσθαι (τί γὰρ ἡμῖν τὸ ὄνομα πρὸς κακίαν τελεῖ;) ἀλλὰ κρίνεσθαι ἐφ᾽ ὅτων ἂν καὶ εὐθύνῃ τις, καὶ ἢ ἀφίεσθαι ἀπολυομένους τῆς κατηγορίας ἢ κολάζεσθαι τοὺς ἁλισκομένους πονηρούς, μὴ ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι (οὐδεὶς γὰρ Χριστιανὸς πονηρός, εἰ μὴ ὑποκρίνεται τὸν λόγον), ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ ἀδικηματι.* Iren. I 24 § 6 *ne pati quidem propter nomen possunt.* Tert. de idol. 14 *totus circus scelestis suffragiis nullo merito* nomen *lacessit.*

p. 125 l. 1 QVAE ACCVSATIO VOCABVLORVM, NISI SI AVT BARBARVM SONAT ALIQVA VOX NOMINIS AVT INFAVSTVM AVT MALEDICVM AVT IMPVDICVM? Quintil. X 1 § 9 n. *omnibus fere uerbis praeter pauca, quae sunt parum uerecunda, in oratione locus est.* XI 1 § 60 *esse in uerbis quod deceat aut turpe sit* *nemini dubium est.* Liv. XXVIII 28 § 4 Atrium *Vmbrum semilixam,* nominis *etiam* abominandi *ducem.* cf. Lips. on Tac. h. IV 53. Lobeck on Soph. Ai. 430. Valckenaer on Eur. Phoen. 639. Elmsley on Eur. Ba. 508. Stanley on Aesch. Ag. 690. Victorius uar. lect. XXXVI 24. Columna on Enn. Androm. p. 240 ed. ult. Spalding on Quintil. V 10 § 31. Aristot. rhet. II 23 § 20 p. 1440 b 18 seq. with Cope's n. *nomen omen.*

p. 125 l. 3 CHRISTIANVS VERO, QVANTVM INTERPRETATIO EST, DE VNCTIONE DEDVCITVR adu. Marc. IV 14 f. (II p. 191 l. 9 up) *nomen Christianorum, utique a Christo deductum.* Theophil. ad Autol. I 12 pr. (p. 77^b with Otto n. 1) *περὶ δὲ τοῦ καταγελᾶν μου, καλοῦντά με Χριστιανόν, οὐκ οἶδας ὃ λέγεις. πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι τὸ χριστὸν ἡδὺ καὶ εὔχρηστον καὶ ἀκαταγέλαστόν ἐστιν.* ibid. fin. *τοιγαροῦν ἡμεῖς τούτου εἵνεκεν καλούμεθα Χριστιανοὶ ὅτι χριόμεθα ἔλαιον θεοῦ.* Iustin apol. I 12 p. 60^a. II 6 p. 44^e. dial. 63 p. 287^b. 64 pr. p. 287^c. 117 p. 345^b. Lact. IV 7 §§ 6 7. Pearson on the Creed (Cambr. 1882) 175 seq.

p. 125 l. 4 PERPERAM CHRESTIANVS PRONVNTIATVR A VOBIS the evidence is collected by Pearson on the Creed art. 2 (Cambr. 1882 pp. 151—2). See Iustin apol. I 4 p. 54^d. 55^a. 46 p. 83^d. Theophil. ad Autol. I 1 p. 69^b. Clem. Al. str. II § 18 p. 438 P. Lact. IV 7 § 4 *nam Christus non proprium nomen est, sed nuncupatio potestatis et regni: sic enim Iudaei reges suos appellabant.* § 5 *sed exponenda huius nominis ratio est propter ignorantium errorem, qui eum immutata littera Chrestum solent dicere.* see Bünemann there. It is very doubtful whether the *impulsor Chrestus* (Suet. Claud. 25) can denote Christ. see Herm. Schiller Gesch. d. röm. Kaiserzeit I 447 n. 6.

p. 125 l. 6 and 8 ODITVR Neue Formenlehre II^2 617. Georges Lexikon der lat. Wortformen. Hartel's ind. to Lucifer Calag. *coniugatio* p. 356 col. 2. Rönsch Itala u. Vulgata 283.

p. 125 l. 8 QVID NOVI, SI ALIQVA DISCIPLINA DE MAGISTRO COGNOMENTVM SECTATORIBVS SVIS INDVCIT? NONNE PHILOSOPHI DE AVCTORIBVS SVIS NVNCVPANTVR PLATONICI, EPICVREI, PYTHAGORICI? Iustin dial. 2 p. 218^c—219^c. 35 p. 253^d—254^a. Clem. Al. str. VII § 108 p. 900 P. Epiphan. haer. XLVIII 14.

p. 126 l. 1 COCI ETIAM AB APICIO Iuv. IV 23 n. pp. 221. 396. Tert de pall. 5 f. (I p. 954) *taceo Nerones et* Apicios *et Rufos.*

Friedländer Sittengeschichte II^5 622—629 shews that artists, dancers, athletes cet. assumed the names of famous predecessors.

ibid. NEC TAMEN QVEMQVAM OFFENDIT PROFESSIO NOMINIS CVM INSTITVTIONE TRANSMISSA AB INSTITVTORE on the impunity of philosophers see c. 48 49. Iustin apol. I 4 fin. p. 55^c. 26 f. p. 70^b *πάντες οἱ ἀπὸ τούτων* <gnostics> *ὁρμώμενοι, ὡς ἔφημεν, Χριστιανοὶ καλοῦνται, ὃν τρόπον καὶ οἱ οὐ κοινωνοῦντες τῶν αὐτῶν δογμάτων ἐν τοῖς φιλοσόφοις τὸ ἐπικαλούμενον ὄνομα τῆς φιλοσοφίας κοινὸν ἔχουσιν. εἰ δὲ καὶ τὰ δύσφημα ἐκεῖνα μυθολογούμενα ἔργα πράττουσι, λυχνίας μὲν ἀνατροπὴν καὶ τὰς ἀνέδην μίξεις καὶ ἀνθρωπείων σαρκῶν βοράς, οὐ γινώσκομεν· ἀλλ' ὅτι μὴ διώκονται μηδὲ φονεύονται ὑφ' ὑμῶν, κἂν διὰ τὰ δόγματα, ἐπιστάμεθα.* Orig. c. Cels. II 13 p. 68 *διὰ ποῖον γὰρ δόγμα τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις γεγενημένων κολάζονται καὶ ἄλλοι, ὅτι ὁρῶν τὰ ἀσεβῆ ἢ τὰ ψευδῆ τῶν δογμάτων κατηγορούμενα, ἔδοξε καὶ τοῦτο σεμνύνειν διὰ τοῦ προλέγειν δῆθεν περὶ αὐτοῦ; κ.τ.λ.* Philosophy does not in fact lack martyrs and confessors, an Anaxagoras, a Socrates, a Musonius, and had much to fear from the Roman government and from the mob Luc. Alex. 45 *ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀγανακτήσας ἐπὶ τῷ ἐλέγχῳ καὶ μὴ φέρων τοῦ ὀνείδους τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐκέλευε τοὺς παρόντας λίθοις βάλλειν αὐτὸν ἢ καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐναγεῖς ἔσεσθαι καὶ Ἐπικουρείους κληθήσεσθαι.* 46 f. *ἔδει γῆν πρὸ γῆς ἐλαύνεσθαι ὡς ἀσεβῆ καὶ ἄθεον καὶ Ἐπικούρειον, ἥπερ ἦν ἡ μεγίστη λοιδορία.* 47 Alexander burnt publicly the *κύριαι δόξαι* of Epicurus, and flung the ashes into the sea. cf. 25. 43. 44. His proclamation (c. 38) '*εἴ τις ἄθεος ἢ Χριστιανὸς ἢ Ἐπικούρειος ἥκει κατάσκοπος τῶν ὀργίων, φευγέτω, οἱ δὲ πιστεύοντες τῷ θεῷ τελείσθωσαν τύχῃ τῇ ἀγαθῇ.*' *καὶ ὁ μὲν ἡγεῖτο λέγων* '*ἔξω Χριστιανούς,*' *τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἅπαν ἐπεφθέγγετο* '*ἔξω Ἐπικουρείους.*'

c. **3** f. IGNOTAM SECTAM, IGNOTVM ET AVCTOREM VOX SOLA PRAEDAMNAT, QVIA NOMINANTVR, NON QVIA REVINCVNTVR cf. Iustin apol. I 4. II 2 p. 42^c seq.

c. **4** pr. p. 126 l. 11 IAM DE CAVSA INNOCENTIAE CONSISTAM 'to join issue.' exx. in Dirksen manuale under *consistere* n. 2 'iudicio congredi, actione experiri,' and in Brisson de uerborum significationibus. Read below (p. 127 l. 5) with Rigault and cod. Fuld. *de legibus prius* consistam <*concurram* Oehler>

nobiscum ut cum tutoribus legum. fragm. Fuld. c. 19 p. 189 l. 7. c. 46 pr. p. 280 l. 3 constitimus, *ut opinor, aduersus omnium criminum intentationem.* ibid. p. 284 l. 7. Oehler on de idol. 13 pr. p. 87 l. ult. Quintil. decl. 252 p. 30 l. 1 *ut diceret, qua alia lege cum illo* consistere *potuerim.* 5 other exx. in Ritter's ind.

p. 126 l. 3 up NON DICO PESSIMI OPTIMOS de idol. 14 f. (p. 47 l. 6 Wiss.) *si quid et carni indulgendum est, habes,* non dicam *tuos dies tantum, sed et plures.* de fuga in pers. 10 (p. 479 l. 6 up) *illum,* non dico *in mari et in terra, uerum in utero etiam bestiae inuenio.*

p. 127 l. 1 INRIDENDI 18 p. 185 l. 6 *haec et nos* risimus *aliquando.*

p. 127 l. 3 LEGVM OBSTRVITVR AVCTORITAS 37 pr. p. 249 *quotiens enim in Christianos desaeuitis, partim animis propriis, partim* legibus *obsequentes!* Blunt Right Use p. 341.

p. 127 l. 7 NON LICET ESSE VOS Minuc. 8 § 3 *homines... deploratae* illicitae *ac desperatae factionis grassari in deos non ingemescendum est!* uit. Alex. Seu. 22 *Iudaeis priuilegia reseruauit,* Christianos esse *passus est.* Judaism was tolerated infr. c. 21 pr. p. 195 l. 5 *insignissimae religionis, certe* licitae. Blunt Right Use 345. Sulpic. Seu. chron. II 29 3 *post etiam datis legibus religio uetabatur, palamque edictis propositis* Christianum esse non licebat.

p. 127 l. 8 INIQVAM EX ARCE DOMINATIONEM Iuv. X 307 n. Luc. VIII 490. Plut. Timol. 22 1. DS. XVI 70. The new ed. of Dict. Ant. does not notice the political importance of the *arx,* though *arx* and esp. ἀκρόπολις very frequently denote the stronghold of tyranny, or, metaphorically, of tyrannical passions. Iustin XXI 5 2. Flor. I 1 5.

p. 128 l. 3 SI LEX TVA ERRAVIT Orig. c. Cels. I 1 p. 5 παρ' ἀληθείᾳ δικαζούσῃ οἱ νόμοι τῶν ἐθνῶν, οἱ περὶ ἀγαλμάτων καὶ τῆς ἀθέου πολυθεότητος, νόμοι εἰσὶ Σκυθῶν καὶ εἴ τι Σκυθῶν ἀσεβέστερον. οὐκ ἄλογον οὖν συνθήκας παρὰ τὰ νενομισμένα ποιεῖν, τὰς ὑπὲρ ἀληθείας. Many passages to the same effect in K. J. Neumann, der röm. Staat und die allg. Kirche bis auf Diocletian, I (Leipz. 1890) 234.

p. 128 l. 4 NEQVE ENIM DE CAELO RVIT Iuv. XI 27 n. Muret.

uar. lect. XIII 7. Dorville on Chariton p. 133. Vulpi and Wunderlich on Tibull. I 3 90. Wetstein on Io. 3 13 and Acts 19 35. esp. Otto die Sprichwörter...der Römer (Leipz. 1890) 62. Add Liv. XXII 29 3 *se acies repente, uelut* caelo demissa, *ad auxilium ostendit.* Plin. XXVI § 13 f. (of the physician Asclepiades) *uniuersum prope humanum genus circumegit in se non alio modo quam si* caelo demissus *aduenisset.* Ammian. XXII 2 4 *effundebatur aetas omnis et sexus tamquam* demissum *aliquem uisura* de caelo. Lact. I 11 55 (citing Minuc. 21 § 7). Io. Sarisb. policrat. VII 12 (col. 662^{c} Migne). Heraclides said of Empedocles that he fell from the moon (DL. VIII § 72). Lexx. under διοπετής. Lydus de ostentis 7.

p. 128 l. 5 up SQVALENTEM SILVAM LEGVM praescr. haer. 37 m. pudic. 17 (I 254 3 Wiss.). exhort. cast. 6.

p. 128 l. 3 up PAPIAS LEGES see Rigault. evidence in Haenel corpus legum (Leipzig 1857) pp. 24—29. Lact. I 16 10 *non inlepide Seneca in libris moralis philosophiae 'quid ergo est' inquit 'quare apud poetas salacissimus Iuppiter desierit liberos tollere? utrum sexagenarius factus est et illi* lex Papia *fibulam inposuit?'*

ibid. IVLIAE Rein das Privatrecht der Römer (1858) 461—468. Tert. de monogam. 16 (I 786 l. 18) *aliud est, si et apud Christum* legibus Iuliis *agi credunt, et existimant caelibes et orbos ex testamento Dei solidum non posse capere.* Prud. perist. X 201—5 *sed, credo, magni limen amplectar Iouis: | qui si citetur legibus uestris reus, | laqueis minacis implicatus* Iuliae, | *luat seueram uinctus et Scantiniam | te cognitore dignus ire in carcerem.* cf. Rein in Pauly Real-Encyclopädie IV 979—981.

p. 128 l. ult. SEVERVS on the persecutions under S. see Blunt church of the first three centuries 298—305. Tert. ad Scap. 4 (p. 547 l. 3 up) *ipse etiam* Seuerus, *pater Antonini, Christianorum memor fuit. nam et Proculum Christianum,...qui eum per oleum aliquando curauerat, requisiuit et in palatio suo habuit usque ad mortem eius; quem et clarissimas feminas et clarissimos uiros* Seuerus, *sciens huius sectae esse, non modo non laesit, uerum et testimonio exornauit et populo furenti in nos palam restitit.* Spartian. Seuer. 17 § 1 *Iudaeos fieri sub graui poena uetuit. idem etiam de Christianis sanxit.* Clinton Fasti

Romani A.D. 202. Haenel corpus legum A.D. 202 and 204. Eus. h. e. VI 2 §§ 2 3. Aubé Les Chrétiens dans l'empire romain de la fin des Antonins 1881, Görres in the Jahrbücher für prot. Theologie (1878), and Réville, La religion à Rome sous les Sévères (1886) are critical; Wieseler, Die Christenverfolgungen der Caesaren bis zum 3. Jahrh. (1878) and Allard Histoire des persécutions pendant les deux premiers siècles (1885) and Hist. d. p. pendant la première moitié du III^{e} siècle (1886) are conservative.

p. 129 l. 1 IVDICATOS IN PARTES SECARI A CREDITORIBVS LEGES ERANT, CONSENSV TAMEN PVBLICO CRVDELITAS POSTEA ERASA EST Blunt Right Use 645: "Matt. 24 51 'The lord of that servant shall come in a day when he looketh not for him, and in an hour that he is not aware of, and shall cut him asunder,' *διχοτομήσει αὐτὸν.* The term *διχοτομήσει*, as applied to the servant who had forfeited his trust, and abused his master's property in his absence, finds an illustration in Tertullian, who speaks of an obsolete Roman law, by which the bankrupt debtor was condemned to be cut asunder by his creditors." see leg. XII tabul. n. 3 (Bruns-Mommsen Fontes iuris Romani antiqui, Freib. in Br. 1887, p. 20 n. 6, who quotes Gell. XX 1 §§ 48—52. Quintil. III 6 § 84 *in XII tab. debitoris corpus inter creditores diuidi licuit*, and commends Niebuhr for interpreting the law literally, not, as John Taylor, of *bonorum sectio*).

p. 129 l. 7 Blunt Right Use p. 341.

p. 129 l. 9 CVR DE SOLO NOMINE PVNIVNT FACTA, QVAE IN ALIIS DE ADMISSO, NON DE NOMINE PROBATA DEFENDVNT Heraldus, La Cerda, Oehler, take *defendunt* as = *ulciscuntur*. Havercamp, reading *probanda*, takes it thus 'maintain that they ought to be established by evidence of their commission, not by the name borne by the accused.' That *defendo* can = *ulciscor*, is certain. See adu. Marc. I 26 (5 exx.). Brisson and Dirksen. Rönsch in Zeitschr. f. wiss. Theol. XVI 267—270 and in das Buch der Jubiläen (Leipz. 1874) 144. Hildebrand gl. Par. p. 293 153 DEFENSVS *uindicatus, ultus.* vulg. Iudith 1 12 *quod defenderet* = ἐκδικήσειν LXX. Rom. 12 19 *defendentes* = ἐκδικοῦντες. Wopkens on Iustin XXVIII 2 4. *defensa* Deut. 32

35 in Tert. adu. Marc. II 18 = ἐκδίκησις (wrongly translated 'defence' in Riddle-White and Lewis-Short). cf. corp. gloss. II (Leipz. 1888) 289 l. 28 ἐκδίκησις *defensio...ultio* cet. IV 479 l. 69 *defensio* ἐκδικία.

Here, however, the opposition *puniunt...defendunt* pleads for the usual sense of the word. Else one verb *puniunt* would have sufficed: 'in our case they punish on the ground of the bare name acts, which in others they punish' cet. More forcible by far is the antithesis; 'in us they punish on the score of our mere name, what in others they uphold, even when proved by evidence of the fact, not by the name given to the accused.' He speaks below e.g. of tolerated abortion and lechery (cf. c. 9).

p. 129 l. 5 up CVR NON REQVIRVNT? Iustin apol. I 3 pr. p. 54^{a} ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ ἄλογον φωνὴν καὶ τολμηρὰν δόξῃ τις ταῦτα εἶναι, ἀξιοῦμεν τὰ κατηγορούμενα αὐτῶν ἐξετάζεσθαι, καί, ἐὰν οὕτως ἔχοντα ἀποδεικνύωνται, κολάζεσθαι ὡς πρέπον ἐστὶν ἁλόντας κολάζειν· εἰ δὲ μηδὲν ἔχοι τις ἐλέγχειν, οὐχ ὑπαγορεύει ὁ ἀληθὴς λόγος διὰ φήμην πονηρὰν ἀναιτίους ἀνθρώπους ἀδικεῖν, μᾶλλον δὲ ἑαυτούς, οἳ οὐ κρίσει ἀλλὰ πάθει τὰ πράγματα ἐξάγειν ἀξιοῦτε. Athenag. 2 pr. (p. 3^{a}) καὶ εἰ μέν τις ἡμᾶς ἐλέγχειν ἔχει ἢ μικρὸν ἢ μεῖζον ἀδικοῦντας, κολάζεσθαι οὐ παραιτούμεθα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἥτις πικροτάτη καὶ ἀνηλεὴς τιμωρία ὑπέχειν ἀξιοῦμεν.

p. 129 l. 4 up IN DEOS...ALIQVID COMMITTO c. 22—28.

p. 129 l. 4 up IN CAESARES c. 29—39.

c. **5** pr. p. 130 l. 5 VETVS ERAT DECRETVM, NE QVI DEVS AB IMPERATORE CONSECRARETVR NISI A SENATV PROBATVS c. 13 pr. p. 164 l. 5 *nam, ut supra praestrinximus,* status dei cuiusque in senatus aestimatione pendebat. *deus non erat quem homo consultus noluisset et nolendo damnasset.* Marquardt röm. Staatsverw. III^{2} 275 "The *consecratio imperatoris* is to be understood like *consecratio dei* or *natalis dei*, as the day of the establishment of the worship. Cic. n. d. II § 62 *hunc dico Liberum Semela natum, non eum, quem nostri maiores...cum Cerere et Libera* consecrauerunt. de leg. II § 28." ibid. 466 "only those emperors were consecrated, for whom their successors procured a special decree of the senate. Oros. VII 4 6. Prud. c. Symm. I 223—5. 245—250. CIL IX 2628 *genio deiuei*

Iulii, quem senatus *populusque Romanorum* deorum in numerum rettulit. Athan. c. gent. 9 f. (I 20^{d} seq. Migne) οὐ πολλῷ πρότερον, ἢ τάχα καὶ μέχρι νῦν ἡ Ῥωμαίων σύγκλητος τοὺς πώποτε αὐτῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἄρξαντας βασιλέας, ἢ πάντας, ἢ οὓς ἂν αὐτοὶ βούλωνται καὶ κρίνωσι, δογματίζουσιν ἐν θεοῖς εἶναι καὶ θρησκεύεσθαι θεοὺς γράφουσι· οἷς μὲν γὰρ ἀπεχθανονται, τούτους ὡς πολεμίους τὴν φύσιν ὁμολογοῦσι καὶ ἀνθρώπους ὀνομάζουσιν· οὓς δὲ καταθυμίους ἔχουσι, τούτους δι' ἀνδραγαθίαν θρησκεύεσθαι προστάττουσιν, ὥσπερ ἐπ' ἐξουσίας ἔχοντες τὸ θεοποιεῖν, αὐτοὶ ἄνθρωποι τυγχάνοντες καὶ εἶναι θνητοὶ μὴ ἀρνούμενοι. κ.τ.λ More in Eckhel D.N. VIII 249." Mommsen Staatsr. II^{2} 732—7. See the exhaustive treatise of the Abbé E. Beurlier Le culte impérial, son histoire et son organisation depuis Auguste jusqu'à Justinien. Par. 1891. 8vo.

p. 130 l. 9 NISI HOMINI DEVS PLACVERIT, DEVS NON ERIT Minuc. 23 § 13 *ecce plumbatur construitur erigitur: nec adhuc deus est: ecce ornatur consecratur oratur: tunc postremo deus est, cum homo illum uoluit et dedicauit.*

ibid. HOMO IAM DEO PROPITIVS ESSE DEBEBIT c. 29 p. 230 l. 5 *tota templa de nutu Caesaris constant. multi denique dei habuerunt Caesarem iratum. facit ad causam, si et* propitium, *cum illis aliquid liberalitatis aut priuilegii confert.*

p. 130 l. 10 TIBERIVS.. CVIVS TEMPORE NOMEN CHRISTIANVM IN SAECVLVM INTROIVIT 7 p. 137 l. 6 *census istius disciplinae, ut iam edidimus, a Tiberio est.* 21 pr. p. 195 l. 2 *sectam istam... aliquanto nouellam, ut* Tiberiani *temporis, plerique sciunt.* 40 pr. p. 267 l. 4 *ante* Tiberium, *id est ante Christi aduentum.* Pearson Exposition of the Creed art. II Cambr. 1882, p. 195 "Tertullian seems to make it <the Christian name> as ancient as the reign of Tiberius...But I conceive indeed he speaks not of the name, but of the religion...However the name of Christian is not so ancient as Tiberius, nor, as I think, of Gaïus. Some ancient author in Suidas (in Ναζαραῖος and in Χριστιανοί) assures us, that it was first named in the reign of Claudius, when St Peter had ordained Euodius bishop of Antioch...And Iohannes Antiochenus (i.e. Malalas, chronogr. p. 247 Bonn)... tells us that Euodius...was the author of the name." cf. Lipsius, Ueber den Ursprung und den ältesten Gebrauch des Christennamens, Jena 1873.

ibid. NOMEN CHRISTIANVM Arn. I 19 f. Christianum nomen *odisse.* ibid. c. 2 p. 4 3 *postquam esse nomen in terris Christianae religionis occepit.* Aug. c. D. I 15 *multo minus* nomen *criminandum est* Christianum.

p. 130 l. 3 up ADNVNTIATA SIBI EX SYRIA PALAESTINA, QUAE ILLIC VERITATEM IPSIVS DIVINITATIS REVELAVERANT, DETVLIT AD SENATVM CVM PRAEROGATIVA SVFFRAGII SVI. SENATVS, QVIA NON IPSE PROBAVERAT, RESPVIT, CAESAR IN SENTENTIA MANSIT, COMMINATVS PERICVLVM ACCVSATORIBVS CHRISTIANORVM c. 21 p. 203 l. ult. *ea omnia super Christo Pilatus, et ipse iam pro sua conscientia Christianus, Caesari tunc Tiberio nuntiauit. sed et Caesares credidissent super Christo, si aut Caesares non essent necessarii saeculo, aut si et Christiani potuissent esse Caesares.* Eus. h. e. II 2 cites Tertull. and Chrys. hom. 26 in 2 Cor. (X 624^{d}) repeats the tale. Tillemont (mem. eccl. I, Par. 1693, 151—3) collects other patristic witnesses to the legend. Add anon. post Dionem (V 232 Dind.) *ὅτι Τιβέριος ἀνήγγελλεν ἐπὶ τὴν σύγκλητον, ὥστε τὸν Χριστὸν τριςκαιδέκατον θεὸν εἶναι· ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος οὐκ ἀπεδέξατο, ὥστε καί τινα ἀστειευόμενον εἰπεῖν· ὅτι τριςκαιδέκατον οὐκ δέχεσθε, καὶ πρῶτος ἔρχεται.* This writer wrote after Sozomen (i.e. after 439 A.D. Görres in Jahrbb. 1875 212--9). The Clementines (hom. I 6 seq. recogn. I 6 seq.) represent the fame of Christ as having reached Rome in autumn, He having come before the world in the spring of the same year[1]. Melito, in a famous passage (Eus. h. e. IV 26 § 7 = Otto apol. IX 412. 434—5) says that 'our philosophy' took its rise under Augustus, *αἴσιον ἀγαθὸν* for the empire. *ἔκτοτε γὰρ εἰς μέγα καὶ λαμπρὸν τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ηὐξήθη κράτος, οὗ σὺ διάδοχος εὐκταῖος γέγονάς τε καὶ ἔσῃ μετὰ τοῦ παιδός, φυλάσσων τῆς βασιλείας τὴν σύντροφον καὶ συναρξαμένην Αὐγούστῳ φιλοσοφίαν, ἣν καὶ οἱ πρόγονοί σου πρὸς ταῖς ἄλλαις θρησκείαις ἐτίμησαν.* See Winer Realwörterb. Pilatus ad fin. Keim in Schenkel Bibel-Lexikon under Tiberius (V 535) and in Rom und das Christenthum (Berlin 1881, pp.

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[1] Orig. c. Cels. II 30 speaks of the *pax Romana* under Augustus as favorable to the diffusion of the Gospel over the world.

167—171). No Grotius (on Matt. 24 11), no Pearson lect. IV 14 15 in acta apost. (minor Theol. works, 1844, I 352—8) also concio II ad clerum (ibid. II 15—28), Fabricius (salutaris lux evangelii, Hamburg 1731, pp. 221—2), Mosheim (De rebus Christianorum ante Constantinum, Helmst. 1753, pp. 92 93), Lardner, Testimonies of ancient Heathen c. 2 § 1 (Works, 1829, VI 604—620), but upholders of tradition, as Dr Pusey (n. ad loc.) and Canon Churton (on Pearson l.c. II 23—24, where he rebukes Kaye's scepticism), or uncritical readers, like Lasaulx, now support Tertullian. Tanaquil Faber, Basnage, Dupin, Gibbon, were wiser in their day; so too Bishop Kaye (102—5). See Lipsius 'Gospels, apocryphal' in DCB II 708—9 (Tert. and Iustin apol. I 35 p. 76^c, 48 p. 84^c imply the existence of a document drawn up in the form of official *acta praesidialia*). Rather they *assume* that the Roman archives contained an official report sent by Pilatus to Tiberius. The extant forgery was founded on these notices of the early fathers and not conversely (Lightfoot Ignatius I^1 55). cf. Kaye 103. 110. The character of Tiberius disproves the statement in the text (Suet. Tib. 69 *circa deos ac religiones neglegentior, quippe addictus mathematicae plenusque persuasionis cuncta fato agi*). Far from encouraging foreign rites (ibid. 36), *externas caeremonias, Aegyptios Iudaicosque ritus compescuit.* Seneca's father seized the pretence of this persecution to wean the young Pythagorean from a bloodless diet (Sen. ep. 108 § 22) *in Tiberii Caesaris principatum iuuentae tempus inciderat. alienigena tum sacra mouebantur, sed inter argumenta superstitionis ponebatur quorumdam animalium abstinentia. patre itaque meo rogante, qui non calumniam timebat, sed philosophiam oderat, ad pristinam consuetudinem redii.* Suppose that Pilate would have endorsed the biblical account of the trial and the Passion; is it not certain that he would not have reported facts so injurious to his character for justice? Lardner says (p. 611) "when he wrote to Tiberius, he <Pilate> would be very naturally led to say something of our Lord's wonderful resurrection and ascension, with which he could not possibly be unacquainted." We rather infer from the Bible (Matt. 28 14) that the governor was kept in ignorance of the resurrection. The Gospel of Peter supports indeed Lardner's surmise. For writers of legends had no feeling for the tragic irony of history. The greatest event of human story passed unnoticed by the rulers of earth, 'not with observation' or pomp. If we would know how provincial governors reported executions of Christians to head quarters, we need but turn to Plin. ep. X 96 § 3 *perseuerantes duci iussi.*

p. 131 l. 2 CONSVLITE COMMENTARIOS VESTROS c. 44 pr. p. 227 l. 6 *vestros enim iam contestamur actus.* c. 19 p. 191 l. 3 *reseranda antiquissimarum etiam gentium archiua.* Scorpiace 15 p. 534 l. 6 *uitas Caesarum legimus:* orientem fidem Romae primus Nero cruentauit. See the evidence in Clinton Fasti Romani A.D. 64 and 65. Eus. h. e. II 25 § 4 quotes our text.

p. 131 l. 3 ILLIC REPERIETIS PRIMVM NERONEM IN HANC SECTAM CVM MAXIME ROMAE ORIENTEM CAESARIANO GLADIO FEROCISSE on the Neronian persecution see ind. général to Renan's seven volumes, 'persécutions' p. 213. Lightfoot 'St Paul in Rome' (Philippians, 1—28). ind. 'Nero' to Clem. (both volumes) and (on this passage) Ignatius I 23. Herm. Schiller Nero 424—439. comment. Mommsen 41—47 and Gesch. der röm. Kaiserzeit I 359. 445—450. Keim, Aus dem Urchristenthum (1878), Arnold, Die neronische Christenverfolgung (1888). Lact. m. p. 2 § 6 (of Nero) primus omnium persecutus Dei seruos *Petrum cruci adfixit et Paulum interfecit.*

Mommsen, röm. Geschichte V 520 seq., denies that the apocalypse pictures the Neronian persecution. The martyrs in the apocalypse suffer, not for burning Rome, but for refusing to worship the Caesars. He accordingly dates the prophecy, with Irenaeus, under Diocletian.

p. 131 ibid. CVM MAXIME this expression was perfectly well explained by scholars until Hand, Tursellinus III 599—603, following Priscian, took it as a particle of degree, rather than of time. As here, with a participle, spect. 10 (I p. 12 l. 7 Wiss.) *Nam saepe censores* nascentia cum maxime *theatra destruebant moribus consulentes.* Sen. ep. 95 § 14 *fuit sine dubio, ut dicitis, uetus illa sapientia* cum maxime nascens (at the very moment of its birth) *rudis.* Tac. ann. IV 27 coeptantem cum maxime *seditionem disiecit.* cf. Tert. bapt. 1. spect. 1. paen. 6.

p. 131 l. 5 TALI DEDICATORE DAMNATIONIS NOSTRAE paenit. 2 pr. *Deus...in semet ipso* paenitentiam dedicauit.

ibid. QVI ENIM SCIT ILLVM *scio* (savoir) for *noui* (connaître), and conversely, in late Latin. Rönsch Itala u. Vulgata 380. Sil. VI 168 scire nemus *pacemque loci explorare libebat.* Commodian. apol. 46. 172. 576. Lamprid. Alex. 45 § 3 *omnes ambulabant, ne* dispositionem *Romanorum barbari* scirent. Hier. ep. 130 12 pr. *imitare sponsum tuum, esto auiae matrique subiecta. nullum uirorum, et maxime iuuenum, nisi cum illis, uideas.* nullum scias, quem *illae* nesciant. id. uit. Hilarion. 42 f. *plerisque asserentibus* scire *se quidem* Hilarionem *et uere illum esse famulum Dei, sed ubi esset ignorare.* Apul. herb. 6 l. 75. Paulin. uita Ambros. 30 *sed cum in conuiuio a regibus gentis suae interrogaretur, utrum* sciret Ambrosium, *et respondisset* nosse se uirum. (In Sil. and Lamprid. *scire = cognoscere*, a use found by Madvig in Cic. and Livy.)

p. 131 l. 7 TEMPTAVERAT ET DOMITIANVS, PORTIO NERONIS DE CRVDELITATE cited by Eus. h. e. III 20 § 7. Cf. Iuv. IV 38 n. caluo *seruiret Roma* Neroni. Eus. h. e. III 17 *πολλήν γε μὴν εἰς πολλοὺς ἐπιδειξάμενος ὁ Δομετιανὸς ὠμότητα,...τελευτῶν τῆς Νέρωνος θεοεχθρίας τε καὶ θεομαχίας διάδοχον ἑαυτὸν κατεστήσατο. δεύτερος δῆτα τὸν καθ' ἡμῶν ἀνεκίνει διωγμόν, καίπερ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ μηδὲν καθ' ἡμῶν ἄτοπον ἐπινοήσαντος.* Melito ibid. IV 26 § 9 *μόνοι πάντων ἀναπεισθέντες ὑπό τινων βασκάνων ἀνθρώπων τὸν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐν διαβολῇ καταστῆσαι λόγον ἠθέλησαν Νέρων καὶ Δομετιανός, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ τὸ τῆς συκοφαντίας ἀλόγῳ συνηθείᾳ περὶ τοὺς τοιούτους ῥυῆναι συμβέβηκε ψεῦδος.* On the persecution under Domitian see Lightfoot, Clement I^2 and II^2 indd. 'Domitian.' Herm. Schiller, Geschichte der röm. Kaiserzeit I 576—9. Keim, Rom u. d. Christenthum, ind. 'Domitian.' Renan, index général, 'Domitien.'

p. 131 l. 8 DE CRVDELITATE c. 9 p. 146 l. 3 *o Iouem Christianum et solum patris filium* de crudelitate!

p. 131 ibid. QVA ET HOMO c. 30 pr. p. 231 l. 2 *sciunt quis illis dederit imperium, sciunt,* qua homines, *quis et uitam.*

p. 131 ibid. FACILE COEPTVM REPRESSIT, RESTITVTIS ETIAM QVOS RELEGAVERAT Lightfoot, Clement, I^2 41 n. 3 " Tert. speaks as if Domitian himself had recalled the exiles. This father must, I imagine, have had in his mind the story which Hegesippus tells (Eus. h. e. III 19), how Domitian was so impressed with the poverty and simplicity of the grandsons of Jude that he not only set them free, but also 'by an injunction stopped the persecution of the Church.' But this is inconsistent with the representations of all other writers, both heathen and Christian, who ascribe the restitution of Domitian's victims to his successor Nerva."

p. 131 l. 9 TALES SEMPER NOBIS INSECVTORES, INIVSTI IMPII TVRPES, QVOS ET IPSI DAMNARE CONSVESTIS, A QVIBVS DAMNATOS RESTITVERE SOLITI ESTIS see Lact. mort. pers. Eus. uit. Const. II 24 §§ 1 2. 26 § 2. 54. orat. Constantini ad sanctorum coetum (ad calc. Eus. uit. Const.) c. 24 (of the miserable ends of Decius, Valerian and Aurelian). INSECVTORES add to lexx. Iul. Val. II c. 15 fin. Ennod. p. 3 l. 1 (Lewis-Short omits the reference to Prud., given by Riddle-White).

p. 131 l. ult. M. AVRELII Blunt Church in the first three centuries 284—294. Under him Justin, Melito, Athenagoras, Theophilus, Tatian, Miltiades, all wrote apologies. Keim, Rom u. d. Christenthum, ind. under Markus Aurelius. Lightfoot Ignatius I^1 460 seq. 'The Church and the Empire under Hadrian, Pius and Marcus' (cf. ind. 'Marcus Aurelius'). Renan, index général 'Marc-Aurèle' p. 169. Herm. Schiller Kaiserzeit I 682 6. Melito in Eus. h. e. IV 26 § 5 gives a gloomy picture of the Church under Aurelius: *τὸ γὰρ οὐδεπώποτε γενόμενον, νῦν διώκεται τὸ τῶν θεοσεβῶν γένος, καινοῖς ἐλαυνόμενον δόγμασι κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν. οἱ γὰρ ἀναιδεῖς συκοφάνται καὶ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐρασταί, τὴν ἐκ τῶν διαταγμάτων ἔχοντες ἀφορμήν, φανερῶς λῃστεύουσι νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν διαρπάζοντες τοὺς μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντας.* See the martyrdoms of the faithful in Lugudunum (Eus. h. e. V 1). cf. Iustin Apol. II 2. Clinton, Fasti Romani A. D. 177 col. 4. Neumann Der röm. Staat u. d. allg. Kirche I (1890) 28—39.

p. 131 l. ult. LITTERAE M. AVRELII GRAVISSIMI IMPERATORIS a spurious letter is printed by Otto at the end of Iustin apol. II (I^3 246—252), and (with the evidence for the miracle of the thundering legion) in Lightfoot (Ignatius I^1 469—476). Haenel, Corpus legum 120—1 and add. 271. Clinton, Fasti Rom. append. pp. 22—26. Otto, Corpus Apolog. IX (1872) 486—491 (on a fragment of Apollinaris in Eus. h. e. V 5 § 4). Lightfoot (pp. 473—4) "The simple fact that M. Aurelius wrote to the Senate is mentioned, as we have seen (LXXI 10 § 5 *καὶ τῇ γερουσίᾳ ἐπέστειλεν*) by Dion. The emperor could hardly have done otherwise. Tertullian hazards the assertion that in this letter mention was made of the prayers of the Christians. Accordingly he claims M. Aurelius as a protector of the Christians. But the very language in which he asserts his claim shews that he had no direct and personal knowledge of any such letter; '*si* litterae M. Aurelii...*requirantur*.' Here he assumes that if sought among the archives the letter would be found. Just in the same way he elsewhere (apol. 21) refers his heathen readers to the official reports which Pilate sent to Tiberius after the trial of Christ. He did not doubt that both documents would be found in the archives. Yet this hazard of Tertullian is apparently the sole foundation on which later statements are built." Eus. h. e. V 5 § 5 *μάρτυς δὲ τούτων γένοιτ' ἂν ἀξιόχρεως ὁ Τερτυλλιανός*...§ 6 *γράφει δ' οὖν και αὐτὸς λέγων Μάρκου τοῦ συνετωτάτου βασιλέως ἐπιστολὰς εἰσέτι νῦν φερεσθαι κ.τ.λ.* Keim Rom u. d. Christenthum, 632—4.

p. 132 l. 1 ILLAM GERMANICAM SITIM CHRISTIANORVM FORTE MILITVM PRECATIONIBVS IMPETRATO IMBRI DISCVSSAM CONTESTATVR c. 40 f. p. 270 *denique cum ab imbribus aestiua hiberna suspendunt,...uos quidem...aqualicia Ioui immolatis......: nos uero ieiuniis aridi et omni continentia expressi, ab omni uitae fruge dilati, in sacco et cinere uolutantes inuidia caelum tundimus, Deum tangimus, et cum misericordiam extorserimus, Iuppiter honoratur.* ad Scap. 4 (p. 548 l. penult.) Marcus *quoque* Aurelius in Germanica expeditione Christianorum militum orationibus ad Deum factis imbres *in siti illa impetrauit. quando non geniculationibus et ieiunationibus nostris etiam siccitates sunt depulsae: tunc et populus acclamans Deo deorum, qui solus potens, in Iouis nomine Deo nostro testimonium reddidit.* de orat. 29 pr. (p. 199 l. 9 Wiss.) *ceterum quanto amplius operatur oratio Christiana!* (l. 17) *nunc uero oratio iustitiae omnem iram Dei auertit, pro inimicis excubat, pro persequentibus supplicat.*

mirum si aquas caelestes extorquere nouit, quae potuit et ignes impetrare? See Clinton, F. R., A.D. 174. Kaye X, XI, 99 seq. Blunt, First three centuries, 294—6. Mosheim, Comment. rerum christianarum ante Const. 247—252. Martigny, Dict. des ant. chrét. (1877) p. 418. Keim, Rom u. d. Christenthum, 628—634. Kraus, Real-Encycl. d. christl. Alterthümer, under Legio fulminatrix. Lardner, Credibility pt. II ch. 15 (Works, 1829, VII 176—198). He shews that the King who defended the miracle against Moyle, was not (as Mosheim thought) Peter King, lord-chancellor.

p. 132 l. 3 SICVT NON PALAM AB EIVSMODI HOMINIBVS POENAM DIMOVIT, ITA ALIO MODO PALAM DISPERSIT, ADIECTA ETIAM ACCVSATORIBVS DAMNATIONE, ET QVIDEM TAETRIORE Blunt Right Use 346. Eus. h. e. V 5 § 6 *τοῦτον* <M. Aurelius> *δέ φησι* <Tert.> *καὶ θάνατον ἀπειλῆσαι τοῖς κατηγορεῖν ἡμῶν ἐπιχειροῦσιν.* To this refers V 21 § 3 *ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν δείλαιος* <the accuser of Apollonius> *παρὰ καιρὸν τὴν δίκην εἰσελθών, ὅτι μὴ ζῆν ἐξὸν ἦν κατὰ βασιλικὸν ὅρον τοὺς τῶν τοιῶνδε μηνυτάς, αὐτίκα κατάγνυται τὰ σκέλη, Περεννίου δικαστοῦ τοιαύτην κατ' αὐτοῦ ψῆφον ἀπενέγκαντος.* cf. K. J. Neumann, der röm. Staat u. d. allg. Kirche I (1890) 81. Celsus (in Orig. VIII 69, p. 213 Lomm.) implies that under Aurelius *inquisitio* was made: *ὑμῶν δὲ κἂν πλανᾶταί τις ἔτι λανθάνων, ἀλλὰ ζητεῖται πρὸς θανάτου δίκην.* Athenag. I p. 1^{bc} you (Aurelius and Commodus) by your prudence secure profound peace to the empire. We Christians alone are shut out from your providence, *συγχωρεῖτε δὲ μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντας...ἐλαύνεσθαι καὶ φέρεσθαι καὶ διώκεσθαι.*

p. 132 TRAIANVS c. 2 p. 117 l. 10 n. Keim Rom u. d. Christenthum, 512—541. Lightfoot, Ignatius, indd. to both volumes. Blunt Right Use 340—5.

p. 132 l. 11 HADRIANVS Melito in Eus. h. e. IV 26 § 10 persecutions, instigated (§ 9) by Nero and Domitian, repressed by Hadrian and Antoninus. Lightfoot Ignatius I^1 442 (cf. ind. 'Hadrian') "only one recorded martyrdom under Hadrian is absolutely certain...the death of the Roman bishop Telesphorus" (Iren. III 3 4). Renan VI 5 6. 31 seq. The apologies of Quadratus and Aristides (this last newly discovered), of Apelles and Aristo appeared in this reign.

p. 132 ibid. OMNIVM CVRIOSITATVM EXPLORATOR Iulian Caes. 311^{cd} after Trajan enters *ἀνὴρ σοβαρὸς τά τε ἄλλα καὶ δὴ καὶ μουσικὴν ἐργαζόμενος, εἴς τε τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀφορῶν πολλάκις καὶ πολυπραγμονῶν τὰ ἀπόρρητα.* DCass. LXIX 5 § 1 (cf. Suid. Ἀδριανός) *ᾐτιῶντο μὲν δὴ . . αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ πάνυ ἀκριβὲς καὶ τὸ περίεργον καὶ τὸ πολύπραγμον.* 11 § 3 *τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα περιεργότατος* Ἀδριανός, *ὥσπερ εἶπον, ἐγένετο, καὶ μαντείαις μαγγανείαις τε παντοδαπαῖς ἐχρῆτο.* Spartian. Hadr. 11 § 4 *et erat* curiosus *non solum domus suae sed etiam amicorum, ita ut per frumentarios occulta omnia exploraret.* Remember his restless travels, e.g. to the statue of Memnon, and his proficiency in many arts. Renan VI 4, 9 seq., 23, 37 n. 3, 40. His relation to Christianity id. ind. général p. 4 col. 1.

p. 132 l. ult. VESPASIANVS Eus. h. e. III 17 f. see in Lightfoot, Ignatius, I^1 15 16 the evidence of Hilary and Sulpicius Seuerus for persecutions under Vespasian and Titus.

p. 132 ibid. DEBELLATOR above p. 131 l. penult. also cited from Verg. and Stat. and vulg. (one ex. each). Add Claud. IV cons. Hon. 28. Hier in cant. tr. 2 col. 528.

p. 132 ibid. PIVS Keim, Rom u. d. Christenthum, 570—6. Lightfoot, Ignatius, I ind. p. 493 "The reign of Antoninus Pius, which has been regarded as a period of unbroken peace for the Church, is found to be stained with the blood of not a few martyrs." ibid. 629—695 he dates the martyrdom of Polycarp A.D. 155. Renan, ind. général 14 col. 1.

p. 133 l. 1 VERVS no special persecutions are attributed to him.

JOHN E. B. MAYOR.

BRIT. MUS. PAP. CXXVIII (IL. XXIII, XXIV).

The following transcript of the British Museum Papyrus CXXVIII, containing portions of the last two books of the Iliad, owes its origin to a suggestion by Prof. A. Ludwich, of Königsberg; and it had already been taken in hand when further encouragement was given by Dr W. Leaf's note in no. 41 of the *Journal of Philology*. A description of the MS. was given in *Classical Texts from Papyri in the British Museum* (published by the British Museum, 1891), together with a facsimile of a small portion of it and a collation of its readings with Dr Leaf's text; but, owing to the much mutilated condition of the papyrus, a doubt might often remain as to the precise extent to which the evidence of the MS. is available. As the MS. appears, both from its age and the quality of its text, to be considerably the most valuable of the Homer papyri that have yet been discovered, it is desirable that its text should be published in full.

A portion of the description of the MS. given in *Classical Texts* may be repeated here. The roll, when perfect, must have been about 20 ft. in length and 9¾ in. in height, and was written in 43 columns, with probably a small portion of a 44th. The text is written in one hand throughout, except in one place, where it is evident that a column (the first of book XXIV) had been torn off, together with the ends of the lines of the preceding column. Both the missing column and the final letters of its predecessors have been supplied by a different scribe, but the work has been done with extreme negligence or ignorance, and this part of the text is full of blunders and practically valueless. It is apparently to the same hand that we owe the insertions of certain lines in the margins (XXIII. 39, 626, XXIV. 519, 520, and lines wrongly added after XXIII. 757), and most, if not all, of the corrections that are made throughout the MS. A few, in a much fainter ink, may be due to a third hand. There are also a few scholia, mutilated and hard to decipher, which appear to be in yet another hand. Breathings, accents, punctuation, and marks of elision appear, freely but not at all universally, throughout the text; but probably in all cases—certainly in all but a very few—they are not in the original hand, but are due to the corrector, who uses a blacker ink. The corrector has also added the Aristarchean signs in a few cases. The διπλῆ is prefixed to eleven lines, and the asterisk to one; but, as Dr Leaf has pointed out, there are sixty-four lines which possess the left-hand margin and should show Aristarchean signs, of which, however, there is no trace.

The corrector has shown, by the extreme corruptness of his transcript of XXIV. 1—29, that no weight can be attached to readings proceeding from his hand, though of course they may be well attested otherwise. But the original text is distinctly a good one, much superior to those generally found on papyrus, whether of Homer or other authors. It is not necessary, even if there were space, to repeat the collation which has been given in *Classical Texts*; and Dr Leaf has enumerated the most important of the readings in his note, already referred to. Dr Leaf has also collected all the instances of peculiar spelling to be found in the MS., and a few cases of remarkable accentuation. I have not at present the time to make the latter list a complete one, but the material is now available in the following transcript for anyone who will undertake to deal with the subject of early Greek accentuation. The MS., as is stated in the introduction to the collation in *Classical Texts*, is probably as early as the 1st century B.C. There is not sufficient evidence to determine the date at which the corrections (including the accentuation, etc.) were added; but it may be considerably later.

In the transcript, dots on the level of the lines indicate letters wanting in the MS.; dots raised above the line are punctuation marks which occur in the MS.; and dots placed under

letters indicate that those letters are only partially preserved in the MS.

[Ψ]

ως οι μεν στεν . . . . λιν . . . . . α̣χαιοι
επει δη νη̣ας τε . . . . ν . . . . . . ˙
οι μεν̣ αρ εσκιδ . . . . ε . . . τος ˙
μυρμιδονας . . . . αι αχιλλευς ˙
αλλ ο γε οις ετα . . . . ετηυδα ˙
μ̣υρμιδονες τ . . . . ηρες εταιροι
. . δη πω υπ οχε . . . λυωμ . . . . ιππους ˙
αλλ αυτοις ιπ̣ποισ̣ι και α . . . . ι̣ουτες
πατροκλον κ . αιω̣μεν˙ ο γαρ . . . . ο̣ντων ˙
αυταρ επει κ ο̣ . . ο̣ιο τεταρ . . . . οοιο ˙
ιππους λυ . . . . . οι δ . . . . αδε παντες ˙
ως εφαθ’˙ οι . . . . ξαν αο̣λ̣ . . . . χιλλευς ˙
οι δε τρις . . . . . . κρον ευ . . . . α̣ν̣ ι̣ππους
μυρομεν . . . . . . δε σφι θε̣ . . . . ωρσε
δευον̣ . . . . ε̣υοντ̣ . . . . τ̣ων
δακρ . . . .
τοισι . . . .
. ειρ̣α̣ . . . . ν̣ο̣ . . . . ιν ετ̣α̣ . ρου
. αιρε μο . . . . κλε . . . . ι˙
. . . τα γ . . . . τελε . . . . πεστην
. κτορα̣ . . . . ας δωσειν . . . . σ̣ασθα .
. . δεκ . . . . . . παρο̣ιθε π̣ . . . . η̣σ̣ε̣ . ν
. . . ων . . . . κνα σ̣ε̣θεν . . . .
. . . . ιον αεικεα . . . .

25 . . . . χεεσσι με . . . .
. . . . ντε αφο . . . .
. αλκεα μ . . . . . . οντα λυον̣ . . . .
. αδ δ ιζον . . . α νηι ποδω̣ . εο . . . .
μυριοι· αυτ̣ . . . τοισι ταφον μ . νο̣ . . . . . δα̣ι̣ν̣υ̣
30 πολλοι με . . . ες αργοι ορέχθεον . . φι σιδηρω̣ .
σφαζομεν . . . ολλοι δ οϊες και μη . αδες αι . . .
πολλοι δ αργ̣ . . δοντες ΰες θαλεθ̣ο̣ντες α . . . . . .
ευομενοι . . . . οντο δια φλογος . φαιστο . .
. αντηι δ αμ . . νεκυν κοτυλήρ . το . . . .
35 α̣υταρ ο τον γ̣ . ανακτ . ποδώκεα . . . . ιων̣ .
. . ς̣ αγαμε . . . να διον αγον βασιλ . . . .
. πουδηι π . . π̣επιθ . ν̣τες εται . . . .
οι δ οτε δη . . . σιην αγαμεμνον . . . .
[αυτικα . . ρυκεσιν λιγυ̣φ̣θ . . . .]
col. 2] αμ̣φι πυρι στησαι τριποδαν μεγαν ει πεπιθο̣ι̣ . .
41 π̣ηλειδην λουσασ̣θαι άπο βροτον αιματοεντ̣ .
αυταρ ο ηρνειτ . . . . ρεως · επι δ ορκο . . . οσ̣ . . .
ου μα ζην ος τι . . ε θεων υπατος και α̣ρ̣ . . . . .
ου θεμις εστι λοετρα καρηα . ος ασσον ι̣ . . . θ . .
45 πριν $\overset{\gamma}{\tau}$ ενι πατροκλον θεμεναι πυρι ση̣μ̣α̣ . . . . . .
κέιρασθάι τε κομην· επει όυ μ έτι δευτερο̣ . . . .
ιξετ αχος κραδιην οφρα ζωδ̂ισ . μετειω ·
α̣ . . η̣τ̣οι νυν μεν στυγερηι $\overset{\tau}{\pi}$ει$\overset{\rho\pi}{\theta}$ωμεθα δα . . . .

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34 Accent perhaps by first hand.

35 The superfluous *o* is perhaps meant to be cancelled.

39 This line is added by the corrector. There are several ink marks above it, which, however, appear not to be accents.

46 Accents on *κειρασθαι* perhaps first hand, but probably not.

47 Accent perhaps first hand.

η̣ . . . ν δ οτρυνον αναξ ανδρων αγαμεμν . .
50 υ̣ . . . . αξεμεναι παρα τε σχειν ως επιεικε .
ν̣ . . . . ν εχοντα νεεσθαι υπο ζόφον ηεροεν̣ . .
ο . . . . . . τουτον μεν επιφλεγηι ακαμα . . . . . .
. . . . π οφθαλμων· λαοι δ επι εργα τρα̣ . . . . . .
. . . . . . ο̣ι δ αρα του μαλα μεν κλυον ηδ . . . .
55 . . . . . . ν̣ω . δ αρα δορπον εφοπλισσαν̣ . . . .
. . . . ουδε τι θυμος εδευετο δαιτο . . . . . .
. . . . ει ποσιος και εδητυος εξ ερ . . . . . .
. . . . ειοντες εβαν κλισιηνδε . . . .
. . . . : . . . επι θινι πολυφλοισβοιο θ . . . .
60 . . . . . . αρυ στεναχων πολεσιν μετα μ̣ . . . .
. . . . . . ρωι οθι κυματ απ ηιον$\overset{α}{ο}$ς κλυζ . . . . .
. . . . . . ν̣ υπνος εμαρπτε λυ . . μελεδ . . . .
. . . . . . ς αμφιχυθεις μαλα γαρ καμε φ . . . .
. . . . αισσων προτι ιλιον ηνεμοεσ . . .
65 . . . . . . π̣ι ψυχη πατροκληος δειλοιο
. . . . αυτωι μεγεθος τε και ομματα . . . .
κ̣ . . φωνην· και τοια περι χροι ειματα . . . .
. . η δ αρ̣ υπερ κεφαλης και μιν προς μυθ . . . .
—
ε . δεις αυταρ εμειο λελασμενος επλε . . . .
70 ο . μεν μευ ζωοντος ακηδεις · αλλα θ̣ . . . .
θ . πτε με οττι ταχιστα πυλας αϊδαο πε . . . .
τ . . ε με ειργουσιν ψυχαι ειδωλα καμοντων̣
ο . . έ με πὼ μίσγεσθαι υπερ ποταμοιο εω . . .
. . λ αυτω̣ς αλάλημαι ὰν ευρὺπὺλες αιδος δω̣

61 The α above the last ο of ηιονος is very faint.

75 . αι μοι δος την χειρ ολοφυρομαι · ου γαρ ετ̣ α . . . .
. έιομαι εξ αΐδαο επην με πυρος λελαχη . .
. . μ̣εν . αρ ζωοι γε φιλων απανευθεν ετ . . . . .
. . . . . . εζομεν̣οι βουλευσομεν· αλλ εμ̣ . . . .
. . . . αχε γεινόμενον̣ . . .

* * * * * *

Coll. 3—10 are wanting.

* * * * * *

col. 11] . . . . λ̣οχος δ ιπποισιν εκεκλεṭọ πατρος εοιο·
. . . ητον και σφωι τιταινετον οττι ταχιστα·
. τοι μεν κεινοισι . . . ιζεμεν ου τι κελευω
405 . . δειδεω ιπποισι δ . . . ρονος · οισιν αθηνη
. υν ωρεξε ταχος κ̣ . . . π αυτωι κυδος εθηκεν·
. . πους δ ατρειδαο . . . ανετε· μηδε λιπησθε
. . ρπαλιμως μη σφω̣ . . ε̣λεγχειην καταχευηι
. . θ̣η̣ θηλυς εουσα· . . . . ειπεσθε φεριστοι·
410 . δε γαρ εξερε . . α . . ην τετελεσμενον εσται·
. . σφωιν κομιδη παρα νεστορι ποιμενι λαων
. σ̣σεται· αυτικα δ υμμε κατακτενέι οξει χαλκωι
. . κ αποκηδησαντε φερωμεθα χειρον αεθλον·
. . . εφομαρτειτον και σπευδ . τ̣ο̣ν̣ . ττι ταχ̣ιστ̣ .
415 . . . τα δ εγων αυτος τεχνησομαι ηδε νοησω
. . . . . ωπωι εν οδωι παραδυμεναι· ο̣ . . . . ε̣ λη . . .
. . . . αθ· οι δε ανακτος υποδδεισαν . . . .
. αλ̣ . ο̣ν επιδραμετην ολιγον χρον . . . . α
. . ε͂ι . ος οδου κοιλης ίδεν αντιλοχο . . . .
420 . . χμος εην γαιης ηι χειμε . . ον ἆλε . . . . .
. ξέρρη̣ξεν οδοιο· βάθυνε δε χωρ . . . .

. . ι ρ εῖχ̣εν μενελαος αματροχιας α . . . .
. . . . . . χος δε παρατρεψας ἐχε μων . . . .
. . . . . ο̣δου· ολιγον δε πα̣ρ̣α̣κλεῖνας . . . .
425 . . . . ς δ εδδεισε και αντιλοχωι ε̣ . . . . νει·
. . . . . . χ· αφραδεως ιππαζ̣εαι· αλ . . . . υς·
. . . . . ωπος γαρ ο̣δος ταχα δ ευρυτερηι παρελασσαι
. . . . . αμφοτερους δηλήσεαι αρματι κυρσας
. . . . . τ· αντιλοχος δ ετι και πολυ μαλλον ελαυνε
430 . . . . . ωι επισπέρχων ως ουκ αἰοντι εοικως
. . . . . . δισκου οῦρα κατωμαδίοιο πελονται
. . . . ιος αφηκεν ανηρ πειρωμενος ηβης·
. . . . . . επιδραμετην· αι δ ηρώησαν οπισσω
. . . . . δεω· αυτος γαρ εκων μεθεηκεν ελαυν$\overset{ει}{ω}$ν
435 . . π̣ως συνκυρσειαν οδωι ἐνι μω̣ . . . ες ιπποι
. . . . ους τ ανστρεψειαν ευπλεκέ̣ . . . . . α δ αυτοι
. . . ονίηισι πεσοιεν επειγομε . . . . ικης·
. . . και νικείων προσεφ$\overset{ι}{η}$ ξ . . . . αος·
. . . . λοχ ὁυ τ̣ις σεῖο βροτων . . . . λος
440 . . . . πει ὁυ σ ἐτυμόν γε φὰμε . . . . χαιο̣ι̣·
col. 12] αλλ ου μ̣ὰ̣ν ουδ ὣς ἀτ . . ὁ . . . . οισῃ αεθλον·
ως ειπων̣ ιπποισιν . . . κλετο φωνησεν τε·
μη μοι ερυκεσθον μηδ ἕστατον αχνυμενω κὴρ·
φθησονται τουτοισι ποδες και . . . . καμοντε

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424 παρακλειναs: the ε is struck out by the corrector.

434 The words from εκων to the end of the verse are written with a thicker pen and in less black ink. The correction of ω to ει is in the same hand.

438 προσεφη: an ι is added above the line at the end of the word, in a different hand.

441 ὣs: the breathing is not in the same ink as the accent, and apparently not the same as the text.

445 η υμιν· αμφω γαρ ατεμβονται ν . . . η̣τος·
ως εφαθ οι δε ανακτος υποδδε . . . . τες ομοκλην
μαλλον επιδραμετην· ταχα δε σ . ισιν αγχι γενοντο̣
αργειοι δ εν αγωνι καθημενοι . ισοροωντο
ιππους· οι δε πετοντο κονέιοντες πεδιοιο·
450 πρωτος δ ιδομενευς κρητων αγος εφρασαθ ιππους
ηστο γαρ εκτος αγωνος υπερτατος $\overset{ϵ}{η}$ν περιωπηι·
τοιο δ ανευθεν ιοντος ομοκλητηρος ακουων
εγνω· φρασσατο δ ιππον αριπρεπ̣έα προυχοντα·
ος το μεν αλλο τοσον φο͂ι̣ν . ξ ην· εν δε μετω̣ . . .
455 λευκον σημ ετετυκτο περιτ̣ροχον ηύτ . . . . .
στη δ ορθος και μυθον εν αργειο . σιν εει . . .
ω φιλοι α . . . . . ν ηγητορες ηδε μεδοντ̣ . .
. . . . ους αυγαζομαι η̣ε και υμει.
. . . . . μοι δοκε . υ̣σι παρόιτεροι έμμεναι . . . οι·
460 . . . . ς δ ηνιοχος ινδάλλετα̣ι̣ α̣ι δε που αυτου
. . . . βεν εν πεδιωι άι κε͂ισ̣έ ́τε φερτεραι ησαν·
. . . . γαρ τας πρωτα ϊδον περι τερμα βαλουσας·
. . . δ ου πη δυναμαι ιδεει̣ν . α̣υτη· δε μοι οσσε
τρω̣ . κον αν πεδίον παντάι . . . . ν̣ εισοροωντι·
465 ηε τ̣ον ηνιοχον φυγον ἥνῑα̣ . . . . σθηι
ε͂υ σχεθεειν περι τέρμα και ο . . . . ελιξ . .
ενθα μιν εκπεσεειν οιω σύν . . . .

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449 κονειοντες: the first ε is struck out by the corrector, who has also added the mark of quantity over the ι.

451 The correction is in the second hand.

455 περιτροχον: the first four letters have been re-written in a rough hand and with very black ink.

461 τε: the mark over the τ resembles an accent, but is perhaps meant, as Dr Leaf suggests, for a γ.

465 [εδυνα]σθηι: the last letter appears to be by a different hand.

αι δ εξ̣ηρωησαν· επει μενος . . . .
αλλα ϊδεσθε και ΰμμες α̣ν̣ασ̣ . . . .
470 ευ διαγεινωσκω δοκεει δε μ̣ . . . .
αιτωλος γενεην· μετα δ . ργε . . . .
ιππο$\overset{δ}{τ}$αμου
τυδεος ιπποταμου υιος . . . .
—
τον δ αισχρως ενεν̣ . . . .
—
ιδομενευ· τι παρο . . . .
475 ιπποι αερσιποδες . . . .
ουτε νεωτατός εσσ . . . .
ουτε τοι οξυτατον . . . .
αλλ α . . . μ̣υθοι̣ς λα̣β̣ρ . . . .
λαβ . . . ό̣ρην· εμεναι . . . .
col. 13] ιπποι δ α$\overset{ε}{υ}$ται εασι παρ . . . . αρος περ
481 ευμηλου· εν δ αυτος ε̣ . . . . υληρα βεβηκεν·
τον δε χολωσαμενος̣ . . . . . ν αγος αντιον ηυδα·
—
· αιαν νέικει α̣ρ̣ισ̣τε . . . . φ̣ρ̣ . δες· άλλα τε παντα
δ̣ευεαι αργειων ο . . . . . ν̣ο̣ος εστιν απηνης·
· 485 δε̂υρό νυν η τρίποδ . ς πέριδώμεθον ηε λεβητος·
·⊦· ἵστορα δ ατρέιδην̣ α . α̣μεμνονα θέιομεν αμφω
οπποτεραι προσθ ιπ̣ . . ι̣ ἵνα γν$\overset{ι}{ό}$ης α̣ποτεινων·
—
ως εφατ· ωρνυτο α . τικ ο . . η̂ος ταχυς αιας
χωομενος χαλεπο̂ . σιν αμειψασθαι επεεσι·
490 και νυ κ ετι προτερωι έτ έρις γενετ αμφοτεροισιν

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470 διαγεινωσκω: the ε is struck out by the corrector.

472 ιπποταμου: corrected by second hand.

479 The point after λαβραγορην is perhaps by the first hand, and a considerable space is left between the final ν and the ε which begins the next word.

487 γνο[ι]ης: the second ι is added above the line by the corrector.

490 προτερωι: the ι is cancelled by the corrector.

ει μη αχιλλευς αυτος ανισтατο και φατο μυθον·
– – μηκετι νυν χαλεπôισιν αμειβε̣σ̣θ$\overset{\text{ον}}{\text{αι}}$ επεεσσιν
αιαν ιδομενευ τε κακοις· επει ουδε εοικε
και δ αλλωι νεμεσâτον ὅ τις τοιαυτα γε ρεζοι·
495 αλλ υμεις εν αγῶνι καθημενοι εισοραασθε
ιπ̣πο . . . . . ε ταχ αυτοι επειγόμενοι περι νι̣ . . ς
ενθ . . . . . . σονται τότε δε γνωσεσθ$\overset{\text{ε}}{\text{αι}}$ εκαστ . .
ιππ . . . . . . ειων ο̣ι δέυτεροι οι το παροιθεν·
ως φα̣ . . . υδειδης δε μαλα σχεδον ηλθε διω . . .
500 μασ . . δ αιεν ελ̣α̣υνε κατωμαδον οι δε οι ιπ̣ . . .
υψόσ α . ιρεσθην ρίμφ̣α̣ . . ησσοντε κελευθον
›ξ̆‹ αιει δ . νιοχον κονιης ραθ̣ . . . . . ς εβαλλον·
αρματα δε χρυσωι πεπ . . . . κασσιτερωι τε
ιπποις ωκυποδεσσι . . . . ο̣ν̣ ο̣υ̣δε τι πολ . .
505 γιν . . επισσωτρων α . . . . η κατ . . ι̣σ̣θεν
εν λεπ̣τηι κονιηι τω . . . . ευδοντε πετεσθη .
στη δε μεσωι εν α̣ . . . . . . λυς δ ανεκηκιεν ιδρως
ιππων εκ τε λοφων κ̣α . απο στέρνοιο χαμâζε·
αυτος δ εκ διφροιο̣ χαμαι θορε παμφανοωντος·
510 κλε̇ινε δ αρα μαστε̇ιγα ποτι ζυγον· ουδε ματησεν
ιφθιμος σθενελος· α̣λλ εσσυμενως λάβ αεθλον·
δωκε δ αγειν ετα . . . σιν υπερθυμοισι γυναικα
και τριποδ . . . . ερειν· ο δε λυεν $\overset{\text{ε}}{\text{ῦ}}$φ ιππους·
τωι δ αρ επ αντιλο . . . . ηλήιος ηλασεν ιππους
515 κερδεσιν ου τι ταχ . . . . παραφθάμενος μενελαον·

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510 κλειvε: the first ε is dotted by a corrector (it is not a circumflex, as Dr Leaf gives it). The superfluous ε of μαστειγα is also apparently dotted, though there it is possible that a circumflex is intended.

αλλα και ῶς μενελαος ε . . . . . . εν ω̣κεας ιππους·
οσσον δε τροχου ιππος αφισταται ος ρα τ ανακτα
ελ$\overset{\iota}{\kappa}$ησιν πεδιοιο τιταιν̣ο̣μενος συν οχεσφιν·
col. 14] . . υ μεν . . . . σσω̣τ̣ρου τριχες α̣κραι
520 . . . . ει ουδε τι πο . . .
. . . . οιο θε̣ο̣ντος
. . . . α . . . ονος αντιλοχοιο
. . . . τα κα̣ι ες δίσκôυρα λέλειπτ .
α . . . . εν . . ελλετο γαρ μενος ηυ
525 . . . . μ̣υονεη . καλλιτροχος άιθη̣ς
ε . δε . . . . γενετ . δρομος αμφοτερ . . . . .
τ . . . . σ̣σ ουδ αμφηριστον εθηκε .
α . . . . μ̣η̣ . . . . . . θερ . . ω̣ν̣ εΰς ιδομενηος
. ει . . . . ς μενελα̣ο̣υ δουρος ερωην·
530 βαρ . . . τ̣ο̣ι . . . . . ρ τω̣ι εσαν . . λλιτριχες ιπποι·
ἥκι . το̣ς δ̣ . . . . τος ελαυνέμεν αρμ εν αγωνι·
υιος . . δ . . . . . . πανυστατος . . υ̣θεν αλλων
ελκ . . . . υ̣ν̣ων πρ . . σοθεν ιππους
. . . . ειρε ποδαρκη . . ιος αχιλλευς
535 . . α̣ς δ̣ . . . . α . . . . τεροε̣ν̣τ αγορ . . . . .
. . . . . ο̣ς̣ α̣ν̣ηρ . . . . ει μω . . χας ιππους
. . . αγ . δή όι δ . . . . ω̣ς̣ επ̣ . . . κες·
. . υ . . . . εος υιος·
. . . . ς ε . . . .
540 και νυ̣ . . . .
ει μη α . . . . τ̣ο̣ρος υ̣ιος
πηλε . . ην . . . . τ αναστας·

---

530 τωι: or perhaps τοι.

ω α̣χιλ . ε . . . λα . . . . αι κε τελεσσ . . .
τουτ . . . . . με . . . . θαι αεθλον
545 τα φρ . . ε̣ων ὅτι οι β . . . . α̣ και ταχέ ιππ·
αυτος . ε . . . ος εων . . λ ωφ . . . . . θ̣ανατοισιν
ευχεσ . αι το κεν όυ τι παννσ . . . . . ηλθε διωκων̣
ει δε μ̣ . . . . κτειρεις και τοι : . . . . επλετο θυμ . .
έστι̣ . . . ε . κ . . σιηι χρῡσ̣ος π . . . . έστι δε χαλκος̣
550 ≻ και π̣ . ΄ . . . ὲισι δε $\overset{\tau}{\text{οι}}$ δμωʽαι . . . . . νυχες ιπποι
≻ τω . . . . α̣νελων δο . . . . ι με̂ιζον αεθλ . .
ηε . . . . κ . νυν· ινα σ αιν̣ . . . . . . αχαιοι·
την δ ε . . ου δωσω· περ . . . . πειρηθητω
ανδρων̣ . . . . θ̣ . ληισιν ε . . . . αχεσθ . .
555 ως φατο· μειδησεν δε πο . . . .
χαιρων αντολοχωι ὅτι ο . . . .
και μιν αμειβομε . . . .
col. 15] αντι . . . .
ευμη̣ . . . .
560 δωσω . . . .
χαλκ . . . .
αμφι . . . .
η ρα κ . . . .
564 οισε . . . .
566 τοισι δ̣ . . . .
αντιλ . . . .
χερσι σ . . . .
αργειο̣ . . . .
570 αντιλ . . . .

$\overset{ι}{ή}$σχυν . . . .
τους σο . . . .
αλλ αγε . . . .
≻ ες μεσο . . . .
575 μη ποτ . . . .
αντιλο . . . .
οιχετα . . . .
. ππoι α . . . .
ει δ αγ ε . . . .
580 αλλον ε . . . . ν $\overset{ε}{ι}$θεια γαρ̣ . . . . .
αντιλο . . . . τρεφες $\overset{ͱ}{η}$ θεμ̣ . . . .
στας ιπ . . . . και αρματος· αυτα . . . .
χερ̣σιν εχε ραδινην η . . . ρ το προσθεν ε . . . . . .
ιππων αψαμενος γαιηοχον εννοσιγαιον
585 όμνυθι μη μεν εκων το εμον δολωι αρμ . . . .
. ον δ αυτ αντιλοχος πεπνυμενος αντ . . . .
. . . χ̣εό νυν· πολλον γαρ εγωγε νεωτερος . . . .
. . . . μενελαε· συ δε προτερος και αρει . .
. . . . εου ανδρος υπερβασιαι τελεθου̣ . . .
590 . . . . ερος μεν γαρ τε νόος· λεπτη̣ δε τ . . . . . .
. . . . οι επιτ̣λητω κραδιη· ιππον δε τοι αυτο .
. . . ω την αρομην· ει και νυ κεν οικοθεν α . . .
. . . ζον απα̣ι̣τησειας· άφάρ κέ τοι αυτικα δουν̣ . .
. . . . οιμην η σόι γε διοτρεφες ηματα παντα
595 . . . υμου πεσεειν και δαιμοσ . ν̣ ειναι αλιτρος
. . . . . ι̣ ιππον αγων μεγαθυμ̣ . . . .

571 ηισχυν[ας]: the ι is added by the second hand.

. . . . σι τιθει μενελαου· τ . . . .
col. 16] ῑάνθη^{ι} ως ει τε περι σταχ̣ . . σσιν εερση
ληίου αλδησκοντος οτ . φρισσωσιν αρουραι·
600 ως αρα τοι μενελαε μετα . ρεσι θυμος ιαιθη·
≻— και μιν φωνησας επεα πτ̣ . . οεντα προσηυδα·
αντιλοχε· νυν μεν κεν εγων υποειξομαι αυτος
χωόμενος· επει όυ τι παρηορος ουδ αεσιφρων
›ž‹ ησθα παρος· νῦν ἆυτε νοον νικησε᾿νεόιη·
605 δεῦτερον ἆυτ αλέασθαι αμ̣εῖμονας ηπεροπευεις
ου γάρ κέν με τάχ άλλος α̣ν̣ηρ παρεπεισεν αχαιων·
αλλα συ γαρ δη πολλ επαθες και πολλ εμογησας
σος τε πατηρ αγαθος και αδελφεος εἴνεκ εμειο·
τῶι τοι̇ λισσομενωι επιπείσομαι ηδε και ιππον
610 δωσω εμην περ ε̂υσαν ϊνα γνωωσι και οιδε
ως εμος ου ποτε θυμος υπερφίαλος και απηνης·
η ρα· και αντιλοχοιο νοημονι· δωκεν εταιρωι
ιππον αγειν· ο δ ε . . . τα λεβηθ ελε παμφανοωντα·
μηριονης δ αν . . . ρε δυω χρυσοιο ταλαντα
615 τέτρατος ως ελα . . ν̣· πεμπτον δ υπελειπετ αεθλον
αμφιθετος φιαλη· την νεστορι δωκεν αχιλ . ευ .
αργειων $\overset{α}{ι}$ν αγωνα φ . ρων και εειπε παρασ . α .
τῆ νῦν και σοι τουτο γερον κειμηλιον εστω
πατροκλοιο ταφου μνημ εμμεναι ου γαρ ετ . . . τον
620 . οψη^{ι} εν αργειοισι· δ . . ωμι δε τοι τοδ αεθλον̣

598 Above the top of the column is written, in a semi-cursive hand, apparently that of the corrector, l. 626, which is omitted in its proper place: *να. δη ταυτα γ̣* . . . .

605 *ηπεροπευεις*: so the first hand, but the corrector has written a *ν* over the *ς*.

609 *τωι*: the *ι* is cancelled by the corrector.

620 There is a dot before this line, perhaps accidental. The *ι* in *οψηι* has

αυτως· ου γαρ πυ . . . . . χησεαι ουδε . . . .
ουδε τ ακοντιστ . . . . δυσεαι ου . . . . δεσ . . .
θευσεαι· ηδη γαρ χα . . . . ν κατα γηρας . πειγει
ως ειπων εν χερ . . . ιθει ο δ εδεξατ . . . . ρων
625 και μιν φων . . . . α πτεροεντ . π . . σηυδα
627 . . . . ρε . εμ̣ . . . . φιλος π̣ο̣δε̣ς̣ . . . . τι χειρ . .
. . . . επ . . . σοντ . . . . . φραι·
. . . . ε̣ιηι
630 . . . . ν επειοι
. . . . ς αεθ̣λα·
. . . . επειων
633 . . . . μων

Lines 634—637 are wanting.

col. 17] 638 . . . . αν ακτοριωνε
. . . . ες αγασσαμενοι περι ν . . . .
. 640 . . . . π̣αρ αυτόθι λειπετ αεθ . .
. . . . εν εμπεδον ηνι$\overset{o}{ε}$χευεν·
. . . . αρα μάστιγ$\overset{ι}{α}$ κελευεν
. . . . υτε νεώτεροι αντιοώντων
. . . . με δε χρὴ̣ γήραι λυγρ . .
645 . . . . τοτε δ αυτε μετεπρεπον η̣ρ̣ωεσσιν·
αλ̣ . . . . ον εταιρον αέθλοισιν κτερε̣ι̣ζ̣ε·
του̣ . . . . . ῳ̣ προφρων δεχομαι· χάιρ . . . . τορ
ὥς μεν αει μεμνησαι ενηέος· ουδε σε ληθω
τιμῆς ἧς τέ μ εοικε τετι̣μησθαι μετ αχαιοις·

---

been added in a different hand, above the line.

626 is omitted, but was added by the corrector at the head of the column; see note on l. 598.

650 σοι . ε θεο̣ . τῶνδ αντι̣ χ̣ . ριν μενοεικεα δοιεν·
ως φ̣ατο· π̣ηλειδης δε πολυν καθ ομειλον αχαιων
ώιχ̣ . . . . . πάντ' αἶνο . επεκλυε νηλ̣΄. ιδαο.
αυταρ . . . γμαχίης αλεεινῆς θῆκεν αεθλα·
ημιον . . . αλαεργον άγων κατεδησ' εν αγωνι
655 ἑξετέ αδμητην ἥ τ αλγιστη δαμάσασθαι·
τωι δ αρα νικηθεντι τιθ . ι δεπας αμφικυπελλον·
* στη δ ορθος και μυθον ε . αν$\overset{α}{θ}$ρ$\overset{γει}{ωπ}$οισιν εειπεν·
ατρειδη̣ . . και αλλοι ευκνήμειδες αχαιοι·
ανδρε δυ . . ερι τῶνδε κελεύομεν ώ̣ί̇ περ αρ . . . .
660 πυξ μαλ α . . . χομ̣ε̣ν . π̣ε̣πληγέμεν· ω̣ι δε κ α . . . . . .
δώιηι καμ . . . . ην γ̣νώωσι δε παντες . χαιοι
ἡμίονον τα . . . ρ̣γον α̣γ̣ων κλισιηνδε φερεσθω·
αυταρ ο νικ . . εις δέπα . όισ . . . . ι̣ αμφικ̣υ̣πελλον
ως εφατ· ω . . . το̣ . . . . ην . . . . εγας τε
665 ειδως πυγ . . . . ο . . . . ιος
αψατο δ ημ . . . . ε
ασσον ίτω . . . . πελλ . .
ημιονο . . . . α . . . . ιων
πυγμηι νι . . . . αι . . . .
670 η ουχ αλις . . . . ομ . . . .
εν παν . . . .
ωδε γαρ . . . .
α̣ντικρυ . . . .

657 *ανθρωποισιν*: the letters *νθ* and *ωπ* are struck out by the same hand that wrote the letters above the line.

659 *ωι*: the first letter is not entirely preserved, but is certainly *ω*. There is a mark above the *ι* which appears to be a dot, to cancel it, and it appears also to have been struck out in faint ink.

. . $\overset{ε}{δ}$ομο . . . .
675 . . . ε μιν ε . . . .
. . εφαθ· . . . .
col. 18] ευρυαλος δε οι οιος ανιστατο ισοθεος . . .
μηκιστεως υιος ταλαιονίδαο ανακτος
ος ποτε θηβας ηλθε δεδουπότος οιδιποδαο
680 >- ες τάφον· ενθ̣ . δε παντας ενῑκα καδμ . . . νας·
τον μεν τυδ . . . ης δουρικλυτος αμφ . π̣ονειτο
θαρσυνων επεσιν· μαλα δ αυτωι βουλετο νικην·
ζωμα δε οι πρωτον παρακαββαλεν αυταρ επειτα
δωκε̣ν ιμάντα . ευτμή . ους βοος αγραύλοιο·
685 τω δε ζωσαμεν . βήτην ες μεσσον αγωνα·
αντ . . ανασχομ . νω χερσι στιβαρησιν αμ αμφω
σ̣ύν . . πε̣σ̣ο̣ . συ . . έ σφι βα . εια . . ειρ̣ε̣ς εμιχ̣θεν·
δει̣νος δε χρόμαδ̣ος γεννων γενετ· ερρεε δ ιδρως
πάντ̣οθεν εκ μελέων επι δ ωρνυτο διος ε̣π̣ε̣ι̣ο̣ς̣·
690 . όψε δε π̣α̣πτηναντα παρήιον ουδ αρ ετι δην
. . . . ήκει· αυτôυ γαρ υπήριπε φαιδιμα γυια·
—
ως δ ὅθ υπο φρὲικος βορέω αναπάλλεται ιχθυς
θὲινι εν φο̣ικιόεντι μέλαν τέ ἑ κυμ εκαλυψεν
ως πληγεὶς ἀνεπαλτ¨ αυ̣ταρ μεγαθυμος επειος
695 χειρι λαβων ωρθωσε φιλοι δ αμφέσταν εταιροι
οι μιν αγὸν δι ἀγωνος εφελκομενοισι ποδεσσι
. . . α πα̣χ̣υ̣ π̣τυοντα· κάρη βάλλονθ ετερωσε
. . . . ρονέοντα μετα σφίσιν ἑισαν αγο . . ε̣ς·
. . . . ομενοι κόμισαν δεπας αμφικυπελ . . .

692 φρειкος: the ε is struck out by the corrector.

695 χειρι: so first hand, but altered to χερσι by the corrector.

700 . . . . α̣ιψ αλλα κατα τριτα θῆκεν αεθλ̣α̣
. . . . ος δαναοισι παλαιμοσύνης αλεγ . . . . .
. . . . ησαντι μεγαν τριποδ ευπυρ̣ . . . . . .
. . . . εκάβοιον ενι σφίσι τῖον αχαιοι·
αν . . . δ̣ε νικηθεντι γυναῖκ ες μέσσον εθηκεν
›Ħ‹ πο . . . δ̣ επιστατο εργα· τίον δε ε τεσσαράβοιο.
706 στη . . ρθος και μῦθον εν αργειοισιν εειπ̣ . .
ορν . . . ὃι και τουτου αεθλου πειρησεσθε
ως . . α̣τ· ωρτο δ επειτα̣ μεγας τελαμων . . . α̣ι̣α̣ .
αν δ . . δυσσευς πο̣λυμητις ανιστατο κερδεα ειδ . .
710 ζωσ . μ̣ενω δ αρα τω γε βατην ες μεσσον αγωνα·
αγκ . . δ αλληλων λαβετην χερσι στιβαρησι
ως δ . τ̣ αμειβοντες τόυς τε κλυτος ηραρε̣ τεκτων
δωματος υψηλοιο β̣ι̣α̣ς̣ α̣ν̣εμων αλεεινων·
τ̣ετρεί́γει δ αρα ν̣ωτα θ̣ρασειά́ων απο χειρων
715 . λ̣κ̣ομενα στερεως· κατα δε νότιος ρέεν ιδρως·
. . . . αι δε σμωδιγγ̣ες ανα πλευρας τε και ωμους
col. 19] αι . . τι φοινικόεσσαι ανεδραμον· οι δε μαλ αιει
ν . κ̣η̣ς ιεσθην τρίποδος πέρι ποιητο͂ιο·
ουτ οδυσσευς δυνατο σφῆλαι όυδει τε πελασ̣σαι
720 όυτ άιας δυνατο· κρατερη δ εχεν ῑς οδυσσῆος·
αλλ οτε δή ρ ανίαζον ευκνημειδες αχαιοι
δη τοτε μιν προσεειπε μεγας τελαμωνιος αιας·
διογενες λαερτιάδη πολυμηχαν οδυσ̣σ̣ε̣υ
ὴ μ ανάειρ᾽ η εγω σε· τα δ αυ δυι παντα μελησει·
725 ως ειπων αναειρε· δολου δ ου ληθετ οδυσσευς·

---

701 δαναοισι: corrected by later hand apparently to λαοισι.

712 The δ is perhaps intended to be obliterated.

κόψ όπιθεν $\overset{κ}{π}\overset{ω}{η}λ\overset{π}{η}κα$ τυχων· υπελυσε δε γυια·
καδ δ έβαλ εξοπισω· επι δε στηθεσσιν οδυσσευς
κάππεσε· λᾱοι δ αῦ θηεῦντό τε θάμβησαν τε·
δευτερος αῦτ αναειρε πολυτλᾱς διος οδυσσευς·
730 κείνησεν δ αρα τυτθον απο χθονος· ουδε τ . . ιρεν·
εν δε γουν γναμψεν· επι δε χθονι κ̣ά̣π̣π̣ . . ο̣ . α̣μ̣φω
πλησιον αλληλοισι· μιανθησαν δε κονιηι·
καί νύ κε το τρίτον âυτις αναϊξαν̣ . . . α̣λ̣α̣ι̣ . .
. . . η αχιλλευς αυτος ανιστατο και κατερυκ̣ε̣·
735 . . κετ ερέιδεσθον· μηδε τρειβ̣ε . θε κακ . . σι·
ν̣ικη δ α̣μ̣φ̣ο̣τερ . . σιν· αεθλια δ εῖσ᾽ ανἑλόντες
ερχεσθ . . . α κα . . . λοι αεθλεύωσιν α̣χα̣ι̣οι·
ως εφα . . . . α̣ρ̣ . . ου μαλα μεν κλυον ηδ επ . . . . . .
και ρ α . . . . μ̣ενοι κονίην δυσαντο χιτ . . . .
740 . . . . α τιθει ταχύτητος αεθλα
αργυρεο̣ . . . . ετυγμενον· εξ δ αρα μετρα
χ̣ανδαν . . . . λει ε̣νῑκα πασαν επ αιαν
. . . . νες πολ̣υδαιδαλοι εῦ ήσκησ̣αν·
. . . . νδρες επ ηεροειδέα ποντον·
745 . . . . σ̣σ̣ι̣· θ̣ό̣α̣ν̣τ̣ι δ . . ω̣ρον εδω̣καν·
. . . . υκαονος ῶῦον εδωκε
. . . . ιησονίδης ευνηος·
κ̣αι τ . . . . θηκεν αεθλιον ο̂υ εταροιο̣
ος τι . . λα . . . τατος ποσσι κραιπνο̂ισι πελο . . .

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726 πηληκα: the correction is made by the second hand.

730 κειvησεν: the first ε is struck out by the corrector.

736 εῖσ᾽: the corrector has struck out the ε and added the circumflex and mark of elision, as well as the marks over the next word.

750 δευτ̣ . . ωι αυ βο͂υν θῆκε μεγαν και πειονα δ̣ . . . .
ημι . . . αντον δε χρυσο͂υ λοισθη̣ι̣ εθηκε·
στη . . . θος και μυθον εν αργειοισιν εειπεν
ορν̣ . . . ο̣ι και τουτου αεθλου πειρησεσθον·
. . . . . . ο̣ρνυτο δ αυτικ οιληος ταχυς αιας·
755 . . . . . . σευς πολυμητις· επειτα δε νεστο . . . .
col. 20] . . . . . οχος· ο γαρ ᾶυτε νεους ποσι παντας ενικα·
σταν δε μετα̣στοιχει· σημ . . ε . . τ̣ε̣ρ̣μ̣ατ αχιλλευ .
τοισι δ απο νυσσης τετατο δρομο . ωκα δ επειτα
οδυσσευς
έκφερ οιλιαδης· επι δ ώρνυτο διος επειος
760 αγχι μάλ ὣς ὅτε τίς τε γυναικος ευζωνοιο
στηθεός εστι κανων ὅν τ ε͂υ μαλα χειρι τανυσσηι
πηνιον εξελκουσα παρεκ μίτον· αγχοθι δ ισχει
στηθεος· ως οδυσσευς θεεν εγγυθε̣ν̣ . . ταρ οπισθε
ίχνια τυπτε ποδεσσι πάρος κονιν̣ . . . . . υθηναι·
765 καδ δ αρα οι κεφαλης χε α ̈. τμένα διο . . . . . σευς
αιει ριμφα θεων· ίαχον δ έπι παντες α̣ . . . οι
νίκης ιεμενοι· μαλα δε σπευδοντι κε . . υον̣·
αλλ οτε δη πύματον τελεον δρομον α . . . κ οδυσσε . .
.́υχετ αθηναιη γλαυκώπιδι᾽ ον κατ . . . . ον

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750 *πειονα*: the *ε* is struck out by the corrector.

751 *εθηκε*: the *η* appears to have been mis-written somehow, the word having been perhaps written *εθικεν*.

757 The mark below the beginning of the line is presumably a mark of omission, calling attention to the lines added in a semi-cursive hand at the top of the column,

——*ε σκοπον* . . . .
αντιθεον φοινικα οπαονα πατρος εοιο
ως μεμεω δε δρομου και αλητιη απο . . . . .

These are ll. 359—361 (the last being much corrupted), and no doubt are inserted because l. 358 is identical with l. 757.

759 The correction is in the same hand as the insertion just mentioned, apparently that of the person who has corrected the MS throughout.

770 $\overset{\lambda\upsilon}{\kappa}$υθι θεα· αγαθή μοι επίρροθος ελ̇ . . . . :ο̣ιιν·
ως εφατ ευχο . εν̣ος· του δ εκλυε π̣ . . . . . α̣θηνη·
γυ̣ι̣α δ εθηκε̣ν̣ ελαφρα ποδας και χ . . . . . . περθεν·
αλλ οτε δη ταχ εμελλεν επαιξεσθ . . . . θλο̣ν̣
ε . θ̣ αιας μεν ολισθε θέων· βλαψεν . . . .
775 . . . . α̣ βοων . . χυτ όνθος αποκταμ . . . .
. . . . . . π̣α̣τροκ̣λωι πεφνεν ποδα . . . .
. . . . . θου βοέου πλῆτο στομα τε ρ . . . . . .
. . . . η̣ρ ᾶυτ αναειρε πολυτλας διος ο . . . .
ω̣ς̣ η̣λ̣θ̣ . . θ̣α̣ . ενος· ο δε βουν̣ . . . .
780 στη δε κερας μετα χερσιν εχών β̣ . . . .
ονθον αποπτῦ́ων· μετα δ αργέιοισιν . . . . . .
ω φιλοι· ῆ μ έβλαψε θεα ποδας ἥ το πα . . . . . .
. ητηρ ως οδυσσῆι παρισταται ηδ̣ ε . . . .
. ς εφ̣ . . . . . . ρ̣α παντες επ αυτωι ηδυ . . . .
·785 . . . . . . χος δ αρ$\overset{\delta\eta}{\alpha}$ λοισθήιον εκφερ α . . . . .
. . . . . . ων· και μυθον εν αργειοισιν εε . . . .
. . . . . . ν ύμμ ερεω πασιν φιλοι ως ετ . . . . ν̣υν
. . . . . . οι τιμ̣ω̣σι παλαιοτερους ανθ . . πους·
. . . . . . ν γαρ εμε͂ι ολιγον προγενεστ . . ος εστιν·
790 . . . . . δ̣ε προτερης γενεῆς προτέρω̣ . . ανθρωπω̣.
. . . . . ροντα δε μιν φασ εμμεναι· αργ . . εον δε
. . . . . . εριδήσα$\overset{\sigma}{\theta}$αι αχαιοις ει μη αχ . . . ει·
. . . . . . κῦ́δη . . ν̣ δε ποδωκεα πηλ . . . να·
. . . . . . ι̣λλευς . . θοισιν αμειβομεν . . . . . σεειπε.

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785 δη is added above the line in different ink.

792 εριδησασθαι: except the last three letters, this word has been written by a later hand over an erasure, and the last σ is added above the line.

795 . . . . ου μεν τοι μέλεος ειρήσεται αι . . .
col. 21] αλλα τοι ημιτά . . . .
ως ειπων εν χερσι τιθε . . . .
αυταρ πηλειδ . . . . τ . . . .
θῆκ ες αγωνα . . ρω̣. ˙ κατα . . . . ν·
800 τέυχεα σαρπήδοντος α μι . . . . κ̣λ̣ . . απηυρα·
στη δ ορθος και μυθον εν . . . . ν εειπεν·
ανδρε δυω περι τῶν. ε κ . . . . εν ὤ περ αριστω·
τέυχεα εσσαμενω ταμεσ . . . . . . ˙. λκον ελοντε
θ οππ . τερος κε φθη . . ιν . . . . νος χροα καλον
806 ψά̣υσηι τ ενδεί . . . δ̣ . ά̣ τ εν . . . και μελαν̣ αιμα
τῶι μεν εγω δωσω το . . φ . . . . ν αρ̣γυροηλον·
κᾶλον θρηικιον το . . ν ασ . . . . ιον απηυρων.
τευχεα δ αμφοτερο. ξυν . . . . α φερεσθων·
810 και σφιν δαιτ αγαθη . . αρα . . . . . εν εν κλι . . . ισιν.
ως εφατ˙ ωρτο δ επειτ. μεγα . . . . αμωνιος αιας˙
αν δ αρα τυ̣δ̣έ̣ι̣δ . . ωρ . ο κρα̣ . . . ος διομηδης·
οι δ επει ου̣ν̣ εκατερθεν ομ . λου θωρηχθησαν
ες με̣ . ον αμφο . . . . . συν . τ̣η̣ . . εμαωτε μαχεσθαι
815 δει . . . . ω· θαμ . . . . . λ̣ε̣ π̣α̣ν̣τας αχαιους
. . . . δον ησαν επ α . . η . ο̣ισιν ιο̣ντες
. . . . ιξ$\overset{\alpha}{\ddot{\epsilon}}$ν˙ τρῐ̈ς δε . . εδον̣ ω . μήθησαν˙
ενθ . . . . επειτα κ . . . . ντο̣ς ἐῑσην
νύξ . . . . χρό ῐ́κανεν . . . . αρ ενδοθι θωρηξ˙
820 . . . . η̣ς δ αρ ε̣πειτα . . . . ς μεγαλοιο
α̣ι̣ . . . . αυχενι κῦρε φ̣αειν . . δουρος . . . . η$\overset{\iota}{ν}$˙

804 is omitted. 817 [επη].ξαν: corrected in a different hand.
821 [ακωκ]ην: corrected in a different hand.

. . . . δή ρ αιαντι π̣ . . . .
. . . . ους εκελευ̣σαν α . . . .
. . . . δειδηι δωκεν μεγα φ̣ . . . ανον η̣ . . .
. . . . . . ε̣ω̣ . τε φερων και εΰτμητωι τελαμων̣.
. . . . . . ηλειδης θηκεν σόλον αυτο̣χόωνον
. . . ρ̣ιν μεν ρεΐπτασκε μεγα σθενος ηε . . ω̣νος·
α̣λλ ητο̣ι τον επεφνε ποδαρκ̣ης διος α̣ . . . .
. ο̣ν δ αγετ εν νηεσσι· συν αλλοισιν κ . ε . . . .
. . η ̔δ ορθος και μυθον εν αργειοισιν ε . . . . .
. . . υσθ' ̔οι κ . . του̣το . . εθλου πειρήσεσ . .
. . . . και μαλα πολλον αποπροθι π . . ο . . . .
. . . . . ιν και πεντε περ̣ιπλομενο̣υ̣ς εν . . . .
. . . . μ̣ενο . ου μεν γα . οι ατεμ̣ . . . ε . . . .
. . . . . ν ουδ αροτὴρ έι . ες πολιν· . . . .
col. 22] ως εφατ· ωρτο δ επε̣ιτα̣ μενεπτολεμος πολυποιτης·
αν δ̣ε̣ λεοντηος κρατερον μενος αντιθεοιο·
αν δ αιας τελα̣μ̣ω̣νιαδης και διος ὲπὲιος·
ἐξέιης δ' ̔ΐστ . ντο· σολον δ ελε δῖος ὲπειος·
ἧκε δε δεινη . . . . έλασαν δ επι παντες αχαιοι
δευτερος αὖ̣ . . . ἑη̄κε λεοντευς οζος αρηος·
το τριτον αυ . . . . εῖψε μεγας τελαμωνιος αιας
χὲιρος απο̣ σ̣τ̣ι̣β̣α̣ρ̣ῆ̣ς και υπέρβαλε σηματα παντων·

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827 *ρειπτασκε*: the first ε is struck out, and the accent and mark of quantity added, by the corrector.

836 In the margin at the head of the column is written a scholium, now mutilated; the following is only an approximate reading:

ισ]τορῖ̣ται εν μ̣́ ῑ γρα . μ̣ο . .
ειρησαι γ́ . . σινοτο̣υ φ . .
παρα̣τ̣οριμ . . κ́ρι . ̄ ην

840 *δεινησας*: the ε is struck out by the corrector.

842 [*ερρ*]*ειψε*: the second ε is struck out by the corrector, and the mark of quantity added.

αλλ οτε δη σολον ειλε μενεπτολεμος πολυποιτης
845 οσσον τις τ ερρειψε καλ̣άυροπα βουκολος ανηρ·
η δε ελισσο . . . . πετεται δια βους αγελάιας·
τοσσον παν̣ . . . . γωνος υπερβαλε· τοι δε βοησαν·
$\overset{ν}{α}$στάντες δ ε . . . οι πολυπόιταο κρατεροιο
ν̣ῆας ε̣π̣ι γλ . . . . α̣ς έφερον βασιλῆος αεθλον·
≻ αυτ . . . τοξε . . ῆισι τιθει ϊόεντα σι·δηρον
851 καδ δ . . . . εν πελεκεας· δεκα δ ημιπελε . . .
ι̣στον δ̣ . . . . . . ν νηος κυανοπρωροιο
τ̣ηλου επ . . . . . . οις· ε̣κ δε τρῆρωνα πέλ̣ε . . ν̣
λεπτῆι μ . . . . θωι δησεν ποδος· $\overset{ς}{ῆ}$αρ αν . . . .
855 τοξέυειν . . . . . κε βαλῃι τρηρωνα πελ . . . .
παντας αε . . . . . . ος πελεκεας ο̣ι̣κ̣ . νδε φ̣ . . . . . .
ος δε κε μ . . . . . . ιο τυχηι ορνειθ . . αμα . . . .
η̣σσων γαρ . . . . . . ο̣ς ὁ δ όισεται ἡμιπέλε . . .
ως εφατ· ω̣ . . . . α βίη τευκ̣ροιο αν̣ . . . . .
860 αν δ αρα μη . . . . ά̣πων ὲϋς ιδομε . . . .
κληρους δ . . . . χ̣αλκηρεϊ παλλον . . . .
. ε̣υ̣κ̣ . ο̣ς̣ . . . . ληρωι λαχε̣ν̣· αυτ . . . .
≻ ηκεν επι . . . . υ̣δ ηπειλη̣σεν α̣ν̣α̣κ̣ . .
865 ορνιθος με̣ . . . . μ̣έγηιρε γαρ ο̣ι̣ το γ α̣πολλων·
αυταρ ο μηρ . . θον βάλε παρ ποδα τη . . . . ετ ορνις·
αντικρυ δ . . . μήρινθ . . τάμε πικρ̣ . . . . στος·
η μεν επει . . ιξε προς ουρανον · ἥ . . . . ρείθη

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845 *ερρειψε*: the second *ε* is cancelled as before.

848 *ασταντες*: a *ν* is added above the line by a different hand; but *cf.* Herondas VIII. 1, 14, *ἄστηθι*.

850 In the margin are the remains of a scholium, σεσημειωτ σιδηρον

854 *ης*: the *ς* (or *γ*) has been added later above the line.

864 is omitted.

μ̣ . . ινθος . . τι γαιαν· αταρ κ . . . . χαιοι·
870 σ . . . . αρα μη̣ . . . . χειρος
τ . . . ν̣· ατα . . . ο̣ι̣στον εχ$\overset{ε}{ο}$ν π̣α̣ . . . . νεν·
≻ α . τ̣ικα δ ηπ̣ . . λ̣ησεν ε . ηβολωι απολλων̣ι
αρνων πρωτ̣ . γ̣ονων ρ̣ . ξειν κλὲιτὴν ἓκ̣α̣τόμβην
ὕψι δ υπαι νεφ . . . ν ἶδε δε τρήρωνα πελειαν·
875 τῆι ρ ο γε δὲῗν . . . υσαν υπο πτερύγος βάλε μ̣εσσ$\overset{η}{ο}$ν·
αντικρυ δε δ . . . . ε βελος· το μεν αψ επι γαιη̣ι
προσθεν μηρ . . . . π̣οδος· αυταρ ἣ ορνις
col. 23] . . . . ωροιο
. . . . πυκνα λιάσθ̲η̲ι̲
880 . . . . τ̣η̣λε δ απ αυτου
. . . . τ̣ε̣ θα̣μ̣β̣ησάν τε
. . . . δεκα παντας αεθ̲λ̲ο̲υ̲ς̲
. . . . ν κοιλας επι νηας
. . . . δολιχοσκιον εγχο̲ς̲
885 . . . . αξιον ανθεμοεν̲τ̲ο̲ς̲
. . . . μονες ανδρες ανεστ̲αν̲
. . . . ειων αγαμεμνων
. . . . ν ευς ιδομενηα̲ς̲
. . . . ρκης διος αχιλλευ̲ς̲
890 . . . . βεβηκας απαντων̲
. . . . μασιν επλευ αριστ̣ο̣ς̣
κ̲α̲τ̲ω̲
. . . . ρωϊ πορωμεν
. . . . κελομαι γαρ εγωγ̲ε̲

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871 εχον : corrected by second hand.

875 δειν[ευο]υσαν, μεσσον: the corrections are in the second hand.

879 The underlined letters in this and the following lines have been added by the hand which supplied col. 1 of book XXIV.

895 . . . . ανδρων αγαμεμνον
γ ηρως
. . . . κεον· αυταρ ο . . . σεν
. . . . ρικαλλες αεθλα

After a slight interval is added in the corrector's hand l. 892, which had been omitted in its proper place:

. . . . αεθλον εχων κοιλας επι νηας

Beneath this comes the subscription:

....ΔΟC
.
......ΗΗ𐅄ΔΔΔ Δ
— — —

[Ω]

col. 24.] λυτο δ αγ . . ·λαοι δε θεας επι̣ ν̣ηας εκαστοι·
εσκιδνα . . . εναι· τοι μεν δορποιο̣ μεδοντο
υπνου τε . . . κερου ταρπημεναι· αυταρ̣ αχι̣λλευς
κλεε φιλ . . . ταρου μεμνημενος· ουδε μ̣ι̣ν̣ υπνος
5 ηρει πανδ̣ . ματωρ· αλλ εστρεφετ᾽ ενθα και ενθα
πατροκλου π̣οθεων ανανδροτῆτά τε κ̣α̣ι̣ μενος ηυ
ηδ οποσα τ . . λυπε̂υσε συν αυτωι παι παθεν αλγεα
ανδρῶν δε πτολεμους αλεγεινα τε κυματα πειρων·
των μεμνησκομενος θαλερον κατα δακ . . . ν ειβ̣εν·
10 αλλοτ επι πλευρας κατακειμενον· αλοτε . αυτε
υπτιος· αλλοτε δε πρηνη τοτε δ ορθος α̣νασ . . .
δινευεσκ αλυων παρα τιν αλος· ουδε μιν . ως
φαινομενη ληθεσκεν υπειρ αλα τ ηονας τε·

---

896 The word originally written at the end of the line is obliterated.
7 παι: corrected to και

αλλ᾽ ο γ επει ζευξειεν υφ αρμασιν ωκεας ιππους·
15 εκτορα δ ελκεσθαι δησασκετο διφρου οπισθεν
τρις δ ερυσας περι σημα μενοιτιαδαο θανοντος
αυτις εν κλισιη πανεσκετο· τονδε δ εασκεν·
εν κονι εκτανυσας προπρηνεα· τοιο δ απολλων
πασαν αεικειην απεχε χροϊ φωτα λεαιρων·
20 και τεθνιοτα περ περι δ αιγιτι παντα καλυπτε·
χρυσιην ϊνα μη μιν αποτρυφυ ελκυσταζων·
ως ο μεν εκτορα διον αεικειζει μενεαινων·
τον δε ελεαιρεσκεν μακαρες θεοι εισορωωντες
κλεψαι δ οτρυνεσκεν εϋσκοπον αργιφοντην
25 ενθ αλλοις̇ μεν παντες επευφημησαν αχαιοι·
ουδε ποσιδαωνι οδε γλαυκωπ . . . κουρην
αλλ εον ωσφιν πρωτον απηχθετο ιλ . . . . . .
και πριαμος και λαος αλεξανδρου ενεκ αρχ̣ . .
ος νικεσε θεας οτε οι μεσαυχον ϊκοντο·
30 την δ ηνησ η οι π$\overset{ο}{ρ}\overset{ε}{ο}$ μαχλοσυνην αλεγειν . .
αλλ οτε δη ρ εκ τοιο δυοδεκατην γενετ η̣ω̣ς̣
και τοτε αρ αθανατοισι μετηυδα φοιβος απολλων
σχετλι̣ο̣ι εσθε θεοι δηλημονος ου νε και υμιν·
εκτωρὰ μηρι εκηε βοων εγων τε τελιων
35 τον νυν ουκ ετληκε νεκυν περ εοντε σαωσαι
η τ αλοχω ειδεειν και μητερι και τεκεϊ ῶι·
και πατερι πριαμοιο λαοισι τε τοι κε μιν ωκα
εν πυρι κηαιεν και πι κτερα κτερεουσιν
αλλ οωι αχιλλημα θεοι βου . εσθ αιπαρη̣γει̣ν·

---

22 After *διον* the letters *δειον* were originally written, but were erased.

27 *εον*: there is a blot at the beginning of the *ο*, but the *χ* does not appear to have been written.

32 *τοτε*: the *ε* is struck out.

40 ω ουτ αρ φρενας εισιν εναισιμα ουδε νοημα̣
col. 25] γνα̣μ . τον εν . . . . σι λ̣ε̣ . . δ ως αγρια οιδεν·
ος τ ε . . ί άρ μεγ . . . τε βιηι . . . αγηνορι θυμωι
ειξ . . ε̂ισ επι . . . α βρ̣οτω . . να δαιτα λαβηισι·
ως . . ιλλευς ελεον μ̣εν απ̣ . λεσεν· ουδε οι αιδω.
45 γίν̣ . ται η τ ανδρας μεγα σε̇ . . εται ηδ ονινησι·
με . . ει μεν πο . . ις και φίλ . ερον αλλον ολεσσαι
ηε . ασιγνητον ομογάστ . . ον $\overset{ε}{η}$ και υιον·
αλλ . τοι κλαυσας και οδυρομ̣ε̣νος μεθεηκε·
τλητον γαρ μο̂ιρα . θυμον θ . . α̣ν ανθρωποισιν·
50 αυταρ ο γ εκτορα δι̣ο̣ν επει . . λον ητορ απηυρα
ιππων εξαπτων . ερι σημ . ταροιο φιλοιο
ελκει· ου μήν δι το̣ . ε καλλι . . ουδέ τ αμεινον
μη αγαθωι περ εο . . ι νεμεσσηθω̂μέν δι ημεις·
κω . ην γαρ δη γα . . . α̣εικίζ . ι μενεαινων·
55 . . . . ε χολωσα̣με . . προσε$\overset{ι}{φ̣η}$ λευκωλενος ηρη·
. . . . εν και τουτ . . . ο̣ν επ . . αργυροτοξε
ε . . . . . ην αχιλ . . . . . . εκτο̣ . ι θησετε τιμην·
ε . . . . μεν θν . . . . τε γυναι . α τε θησατο μαζον·
α . . . . . . ι̣λλευς . . . . . εα̂ς γον . ς· ην εγω αυτη
60 . . . . . τε και ατιτ̣ . . . και α . . ρ . πόρον παρακοιτιν
. ηλει· ος περι κη̣ . . . . λος γ . ν̣ε . αθανατοισι·
. . ντ$\overset{ε}{α}$ς δ αντια . . . . θεοι γαμ . υ · εν δε συ τοισι
. . ′ ινυ εχων φορμ̣ . . . . κακω̣ν . ταρ· αιεν απ̣ . . τ̣ε·

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45 σε[ιν]εται: the first ε is dotted in different ink.

54 The dot which Dr Leaf notes before this line is so far from it that it probably has no significance.

62 παντας: corrected in second hand.

. . ν̣ δ . . . μει̣β̣ο̣ . . . . φ̣ . . . . ερετα ζευς̣
65 . . η μ . . η πάμ . . . αποσ̣ . . . μ̣αινε θε . . σ̣ιν·
ου μεν̣ γ̣α̣ρ τιμη γ̣ε̣ μ̣ . εσσε . . . . . . α και εκτ̣ω̣ρ
φίλτα . . ς εσκε θεο̣ . σ̣ι βρο̣ . . . οι εν ιλιωι ε̣ισιν·
ως γαρ̣ . . οιγ· επει ου τι φι̣ . . . η̣μαρτανε δωρων·
ο . γαρ μ̣ . . ποτε βωμος εδευετο δαιτος εεισης
70 λοι̣βης . . κνισης τε· το γαρ λαχομεν γερας ημεις
αλ̣λ̣ ητο . . λεψαι μεν εασο . . ν· ουδε πη εσ . ιν
λα̣θρη α . . λληος θρασυν εκτο̣ρα· η γαρ οι α . . ι
μητηρ παρμεμβλωκεν ομως νυκτας τε και ημαρ
αλλ̣ ει τις καλεσειε θεων θετιν ασσον εμειο
75 . . . α τι^{οι} ειπω πυκινον επος ω̣ς κε̣ν αχιλλευς
δ̣ . ρων εκ̣ πριαμοι̣ο λάχη̣^{ι} απο $\overset{θ}{τ}$ εκτορα λυσηι·
. . . φατ· ω̣ . τ̣ο δε ιρις αελλοποṣ αγ̣γ̣ελεουσα·
μ̣ . . ση . . . δε σαμου τε και ιμβρου παιπαλοεσσης
ενθορ . . .′ ιλανι ποντωι· επεστεναχιζε δε λιμνη·
80 η . . . . δαινηι . . ε̣λη ες βυσσον όρουσεν
col. 26] . . . . . . αγρα . . . .
. . . . . . ι ωμ̣ . . . .
. . . . . εν . . . .

lines 84—99 are wanting.

100 η ——
η ——
κ ——
τ . . . . ω̣ν η . . . .
ηλ . . . . μ̣πο̣ν . . . .

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71 εστιν: the ν is struck out.

75, 76 The corrections are in the second hand, which has also added the ι in λυσηι.

105 πε̣ . θ̣ος αλαστ̣ον . . ο . . . . ιν οιδ . . . . , .
αλ . . και ως ερεω τ . . σ . . . . καλεσσ.
εν . . μαρ δη νεικος ε̣ . . . . ν ορωρ̣ . .
εκ . . ρος αμφι ν . . . . ολιπο . . . .
κλε . . ι δ οτρυνο . . . . ιφον . . .
110 αυτ . . εγω τοδ . . . .
αιδω̣ . α̣ι φιλο . . . .
αιψα . . . ες στ . . . .
σκύ . . . θ̣αι ο . . . .
αθαν . . . ν κε . . . .
≻ εκτ ——
116 αι κε̣ν ——
αυταρ̣ ——
λυσασ ——
120 ως εφ ——
βη δε ——
col. 27] ιξεν δ ες κλισιην ου υι . . ς· ενθ αρα τον γε
ηυ . . δ̣ινα στεναχοντα φιλοι δ αμφ αυτον εταιροι·
εσσ . μενως επενοντο και εντυνουτ . . . ιστ$\overset{ου}{α}$·
125 τ̣οι . . οϊς λάσιος μεγας εν κλισ . . ^{ι}σ ιε̣ . . το·
. . . . . λ αγ̣ . α̣υ̣τοιο· παρεξετο πο̣ . . . . . . τηρ·
. . . . . τε μιν κατερεξεν· επος τ . . . . ονομαζ . .
. . . . . . εμον τέο μεχρις οδυρο̣ . . . . . και αχευ . .
. . . . . . αι κραδιην· μεμνημενο . . . . . . ι σιτου

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107 There is a dot after the *ν* of *νεικος*, perhaps by the first hand, since a considerable space is left between the *ν* and *ε*.

119 is omitted.

123 *ηυρ*: the correction is in the second hand.

124 [*αρ*]*ιστα*: over the final *α* the letters *ου* are written in faint ink.

125 *κλισ*[*ιη*]*ισι*: the third *ι* is added above the line in a different hand.

130 . . . . · αγαθον δε γυναικι περ . . . . η̣τι
. . . γε̣ . . ου γ̣αρ μοι δηρον β̣εη^{ι} αλ . . . . η
. . . ι παρεστ̣ηκεν θανατος και μοιρ . κ̣ρατ̣αιη·
. . . εμεθεν ξύνὲς ὢκα· διος̣ δε τοι αγγ . . ος ειμι·
. . . ζεσθαι σόι φησι θεους· εε δ εξοχα παν̣τω̣ν
135 . . . νατων κεχολωσθαι οτι φρεσι μαινομεν̣ηισιν
. . τορ εχεις παρα νηυσι κορωνισιν ουδ απ . λυσας·
. . . γε δη λυσ̣ον· νεκροιο δε δ̣εξ . . αποιν.
. . . . μενος π̣ρ̣ο̣σ̣ . . . . . δας ω . . . αχιλλε . .
. . . . αποινα φεροι και . . . . ιτο
140 . . . . νι θυμω . ολυμπιος αυ . . . . ει·
. . . . ων αγύρ̣ε̣ι μητ̣ηρ τε κ . . . . . .
. . . . λ̣ληλους επεα πτερ . . . . υον
. . . . νε κρονιδης εις ιλιο . . . . .
. . . . ε̣δ̣ο̣ς̣ ο . . . .

Of ll. 145–149 no letters are preserved, but the length of the margin of the column, which is intact, shows that no line was left out.

150 —— ις
—— χιλλευς
—— ταρβος·
—— την
——
155 —— ς
—— ρυξει·
—— η̣μων
—— δρος·

131 βεηι: the ι is added above the line in a different hand.

— α̣
— ε·
— η̣ς̣
—
— ο̣λ̣ . η

col. 28] κόπρ̣ . . εην κ̣εφαλῆι τ̣ε και αυχενι το̂ι̣ο̣ γεροντος·
την . . κυλινδο̣μενος κατεμήσατο χερσιν εηισιν·
θυ . α . ε̣ρες δ α̣ν̣α̣ δωματ ιδεν νυοι ωδύροντο·
τω̣ν̣ . . μ̣ν̣η̣σκομ̣ε̣ν . . οι δη πολεες τ. και εσθλοι
χερσ̣ . . υπ αργει̣ων . εατο ψυχας ολεσαντες
σ̣τη δ. παρα πριαμον διος αγγελος· ἥ̣δε προσηυδα·
τυτθ . . . θεγ̣ . . . . νη · το̣ν̣ δε τρομο . . λ̣λ̣αβε γυια·
θαρσ . . . . νιδ̣η̣ π̣ρ̣ . . . . ι· μη . ε τι ταρβει
ο̣υ μεν . . ρ τοι εγω κακον ο$\overset{σ}{σ}$ομενη . . . ικανω·
αλλ αγ . . . φρον̣εουσα̣ δ̣ι̣ος δε τοι αγγελ̣ . ς ε . μ̣ι̣
ὅς σευ . . . υθεν . . . μεγα κηδεται ηδ ελ̣ε̣ . . ρ̣ . ι·
λ̣υσασ . . ι σ εκελ̣ . . . . ν̣ ολυμπιος εκτορα δ̣ι̣ο̣ν
δωρα δ̣ . χιλληι . . . . . εν τα κε θυμον ιηνη̣ι̣
οιος· μ . δε τ . . . . . . ς̣ αμα τρω̣ων ιτω ανη.
κηρυξ τ̣ις οι ε . . . . . γεραιτερος ος κ ι . . νοι
ημιον . . ς̣ και α . . . . . ε̣ύτροχον· η κε . αι αυτις
νεκρ . . . . τον εκτανε δι . . α̣χιλλε̣υ̣ς̣
μ̣ηδ . . . . μ̣ελετω φρεσι μηδε τι ταρβος·
τοιο̣ . . . . ς αμ εψεται αργειφο̣ντης
ο̣ . . . . ων αχιλληι πελασσηι·
. . . . ν̣ εσω κλισιην αχιλληος

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166 *ιδεν*: the *ν* is struck out in different ink.

172 *οσσομενη*: the second *σ* is added above the line by the corrector.

185 ο̣ . . . . τ αλλους πα̣ . . . . . . υξει·
. . τε γα . . . . ασκοπο . ο . . . . . . ημων
. . λα μα . . . . εω πεφιδ̣ . . . . . ι̣ ανδρος
. . εν α̣ . . . . οδας ωκ . . . . . .
. . ταρ ό γ̣ . . . . ξαν ευτροχον ημ . . . .
190 οπλισαι ην̣ . . . . πέιρινθα δε δησαι επ̣ . . . . .
αυτος . . . . α̣λ̣α̣μ̣ον κατεβησατο κ . . . . . .
κέδρινον υψόροφον· ος γλήνεα πο . . . . . . όνδει·
ες δ αλοχον εκαβην εκαλεσσατο φωνη . εν τε·
δαιμονιη διόθεν μοι ολυμπιος αγγελος̣ ηλθεν
195 λυσασθαι φ̣ιλον υιον ιοντ επι νηας. αχαιων·
δωρα δ αχ . . ληι φερεμεν τα κε θυμον ι̣ηνηι·
α̣λ̣λ̣ αγε μο . τοδε ειπε· τι τοι φρεσιν ειδ .̣ . αι ειναι·
αινως̣ γάρ μ αυτον γε μενος και θυμος ανωγει
κ̣ε̣ισ ιεναι επι νηας εσω στρατον ευρυν αχαιων·
200 . ς̣ φατο· κωκυσεν δε γυνη και αμειβετο̣ μυθωι·
. μοι· πῆ δή τοι φρενες όιχοντ· ἧις το παρος περ
. κ̣λέ επ ανθρωπους ξεινους ηδ ὁ̂ισιν ἀνασσες
. . . . ε̣ . . επι νηας αχαιων ελθεμεν οιος
col. 29] ανδρος ες οφθαλμους ὅς το . . . .
205 υιεας εξεναριξε· σιδήρει . . . .
ει γαρ σ ἅιρήσει και εσοψετ . . . .
ωμηστης και απιστος ανη . . . .
ουδε τι σ αιδεσεται· νῦν . . . .
ημενοι εν μεγαρωι· τω . . ω . . . .
210 γ$^{\epsilon}$ινομενωι επένησε λι̣ . ωι . . . . ε μ̣ . . ηρ̣

196 ιηνηι: the final ι is added by a different hand.

210 γεινομενωι: the first ε is added above the line by the corrector.

αργιποδας κυνας ασαι ἑ̣ῶ̣ν απα̣ν̣ . . . . . οκηων
ανδρι παρα κρατερωι· του εγω μ̣ . . . . . παρ εχοιμ̣ .
εσθεμεναι προσφῦσα· τότ αντι . . . . . . γ̣ε̣νοιτο
παιδος εμου· επει ου ἓ κακιζομεν . . . ε κατεκτα·
215 αλλα προς τρωων και τρωιαδω̣ν . . . υ̣κολπων
εσταοτ ουτε φοβου μεμνημενο̣ν . υτ αλεωρης·
—
την δ αυτε προσεειπε γερων πριαμ̣ . . θεοειδης·
—
μή μ' εθελοντ ιεναι κατερῦκανε· μ̣ . . έ μοι αυτη
όρνῒς ενιμμεγαροισι κακος πελευ . . . ε με πει̣σεις
220 ει μεν γαρ τις μ' αλλος επιχθονιων . . . λευε
η οι μαντιες εισι θυοσκοοι η ιερῆ . .
ψεῦδός κεν φᾶι̣μεν και νοσφιζοιμ̣ . . . μαλλον·
νυν δ αυτος γαρ ακουσα θεου και εσ . . . ακον αυτην̣
ειμι· και ου . . λιον επος εσσεται · ε . . . . . ι . ισα
225 τεθνάμεναι παρα νηυσιν αχαιων χ̣α̣ . . . . . . ωνων,
βουλομαι· αυτικα γαρ με κατακτεί . . . . ν αχιλλευς
ἀγκας ἓλόντ' εμον υιον επην γόου ε . . ρον ἑίή̣ν·
—
≻ η^{ι}· και φωριᾰ́μῶν επιθηματα καλ ανε . . . . ν·
ενθε̣ν δωδεκα μεν περικαλλεας έξε . . . επλο . .
230 δωδεκα δ ἄπλοίδας χλάινας· τοσσους . . ταπήτ̣ . ς̣
τοσσα δε φάρεα καλα· τόσσους δ επ . τ . . . . χιτω̣ν . .
≻ χρυσοῦ δε στησας εφερεν δεκα π̣α̣ . . . . ντ .
εκ δε δύ άιθωνας τριποδας· πίσυρ̣ . ς δ . . . . . . ας·

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221 As Dr Leaf says, there are perhaps traces of a diastole after *εισι*.

223 *αυτην*: at first written *αυτηι*, but corrected by first hand.

225 At the end of this line is a mark resembling a comma, but whether intentional or not it is impossible to say.

227 *ειηιν*: the additional *ι*, as well as the breathing and accent, are added by the second hand.

228 *ή*: what appears to be an *ι* is added above the line by a different hand.

εκ δε δεπας περικαλλες ο οι θρῆͥκες πορον ανδρε .
235 εξέσίην ελθοντι μέγα κτερας· ουδε νυ του περ
φεισατ ενι μ′ μεγαροις ο γερων· περὶ . . θελε θυμωι̣
λύ̔σασθαι φιλον υιον· ο δε τρωας μεν̣ . . α̣ντας
αιθουσσης απεεργεν έπεσσ αισχρο̂ισιν̣ ενισσ̣ων
ε̣ρρετε λωβητηρες· ελεγχέες· ου ν̣υ κ̣α̣ι υμειν
240 . ικοι επ̣εστι γοος ὅτε μ ηλθετε κηδησαͦντες·
. ό̣υ̣νοσ . . ὅτι μοι κρονιδης ζευς αλγε εδωκε
παιδ ολεσαι τον αριστον, αταρ γνω . ε̣σθε και υ̣μμες·
ρηί̣τερο . γαρ μαλλον αχαιοισιν δη εσ̣ . σθε
col. 30] Lines 244–247 are wanting.
. . . . γ̣ερο . . . .
. . . . όν τε π̣ . . . .
250 . . . . ντ . φ̣ . . . .
. . . . ε και . . . .
. . . . ο γερα . . . .
. . . . ε μοι κ . . . .
εκτορος ωφέλ . . . .
255 ω μο . ε̣γω παν . . . .
τροι̣η̣ι εν ευρ . . . .
μ̣ηστ̣ορα τ α̣ . . . . ω . . . .
εκ . . ρα τ θ . . θ̣εο̣ς̣ ε̣σ̣κε μετ . . . .
α . . . . ς̣ γ̣ε θνητ̣ο̣υ παι̂ς εμμεν . . . . . . θ̣ε̣ο̣ιο
260 το . . . εν απωλεσ̣ α̣ρης· τα δ ελέγχε̣α̣ π̣αντα λελ̣ . πται

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234 θρηικες: the ι is added by a different hand.

236 The μ before μεγαροις is apparently cancelled.

241 There is some corruption of the word ὀνόσασθ'. The first two letters appear to be ου, and there is not room for more than two letters at the end, after the first σ.

258 The τ after εκ[το]ρα is struck out.

260 There does not seem to be room for the diphthong in λελειπται.

ψε͂ . . . ά̣ι τ ορχηστάι τε χοροιτυπίηισιν αριστοι
αρ . . . ηδ εριφων επιδήμιοι αρπακτηρες
ου . . . δ̣η μοὶ αμαξα̣ν εφοπλισσαιτε ταχιστ̣α̣
τα . . . . . παντ επιθ̣ειτε ἵνα πρησσωμεν οδοιο̣
265 ως . . . . ʽοι δ αρα παντες υποδδέισαντε̣ς ο̣μοκλην
εκ . . . α̣μαξαν άειραν ευτροχον ημιον . . ην
κ . . . . πρωτοπαγέα· πειρινθα δε δῆσα$\overset{\nu}{\iota}$ επ αυ̣τ̣ης·
. . . . . πο πασσαλοφιν ζυ . ο̣ν̣ ἧρε . ν ημι . ν̣ε . . ν
. . . . . ον ομφαλόεν εὖ οιηκεσσιν αρηρ . .
270 . . . . φερον ζυγοδεσμο̣ν̣ αμα ζυ̣γῶι εν . . . .
. . . . . μ̣ε̣ν εὖ κατεθηκαν ευξέστωι επ̣ι̣ . . . . .
. . . . . . π̣ι πρώτηι· επι δε κρικο̣ν . . . .
. . . . . . κατερθεν εδησαν ε̣ . . . .
. . . . . . κατεδησαν· υπο γ̣ . . χ̣ει . . . .
275 ε̣κ̣ θ . . . . . υ̣ δ̣ε φ̣ερον̣τ̣ε̣ . . . .
νήεον . . . .
ξευξαν . . . .
τ. υς ῥά π̣ . . . . μωι μυσο . . . .
ι . πους δ̣ . . . . ύπαγε ζ . . . .
280 α . τος εχων α . . . . . λεν εϋξ . . . .
τ . μεν ζευγν . . . .
κ̣η̣ρυξ και πριαμ . . . .

Col. 31 (ll. 283–322) is wanting.

col. 32] Lines 323–336 are wanting.

337 . . . . . ὼς . . . .
. . . . . . ων δαν . . . .

---

268 πασσαλοφιν: the ι is cancelled and surmounted by a large dot and circumflex.

. . . . . τ̣· ουδ απι̣ . . . .
340 . . . . . . π̣ειτ υπ . . . .
. . . . χ̣ρ̣υ̣ . . . .

Lines 342, 343 are wanting.

344 . . . . ώο . . . .
345 . . . . το κ . . . .
. . . . πουτ̣ . . . .
. . . . εοικως
. . . . χ̣αριεστατη̣ . . .
. . . . λοιο ελασσ̣ . .
350 . . . . π̣πους οφ̣ . . . .
. . . . π . . . .

Lines 352–361 are wanting.

col. 33] Lines 362–381 are wanting.

382 —— νηι
——
—— ν
385 —— αιων
—— εοειδης
—— ρωπων

Lines 388–400 are wanting.

col. 34] Line 401 is wanting.

402 —— οι·
—— αυται
—— χαιων·
405 —— θ̣εοειδης·
—— ος
—— ξ̣ον

— η
— κ̣εν αχιλλευς·
— ειφοντης·
— οιωνοι·
— ν̣ηι
— ηδε
— υδε μιν ἒυλαι
— εδουσιν
— ο
— ε̣ιηι·
·— επελθων
— ενιπται·
. . . . ν . . . . . . παν̣τα μεμυκεν
. . . . γ̣αρ επ . . τῶι χαλκον ελασσαν
. ς τ . . . . αι μάκαρε . . εοι υιος ἒ͂ος
. . . ν̣εκ̣υ̣ο̣ς . . . εοντος ε . . . σφι φιλος περι κηρι·
. . φ̣ατο· γηθ̣ησεν δ ο γερω. κ̣αι αμειβετο μυθωι·
. . εκος· ἦ ρ . γαθον και εν̣ . . . ιμα δωρα διδôυναι
αθανατοις ε̣π̣ει όυ ποτ ε̣μ̣ . . πâις ει ποτ εην γε
ληθετ ενιμμ̣εγαροισι . . . . οι ολυμπον εχουσι·
τω οι επεμ . . σ . . . . ανατοιο περ αισηι·
αλ . . γ̣ε δη τ̣ο . . . . καλον ά̌λεισον
αυτον τε ρυσ . . . . ε συν γ̣ε θεοισιν
οφρα κεν ες . . . . δ̣εω αφικωμαι·
τ̣ο̣ν δ αυτε π̣ . . . . ορος α̣ργειφοντης·
π̣ειρâι εμειο . . . . δε μ̣ε̣ πεισεις·
. . . . κελη σ . . . . δ̣εχεσθαι·

414 ευλαι: apparently corrected from ουλαι.

435 τ . . . . περι κηρι
. . . . θε γενηται·
. . . . γος ικοιμ̣η̣ν
. . . . τεων·
439 . . . . αχεσαιτο·
col. 35] . . . . ο χερσιν·
. . . . μιον . . . μ̣ενος ηυ̣
. . . . ῶν και ταφρον ι̣ . . . . .
. . . . υλακτηρες πο . . . . . .
445 . . . . ο̣ν̣ . . . . ε διακτορος αρ̣ . . . .
. . . . ξε πυ̇λας και απωσεν οχ . . .
. . . . ον τε και αγλαα δωρ επ . . . . . .
: . . . . ην πηληιαδεω αφικοντο
. . . . ρμιδονες ποιησαν ανακτ.
450 . . . . κ̣ερσαντες αταρ καθὔπερθε̣ . . . .
. . . . οφον λῑμ̣ . . όθεν· ᾱμήσαντες·
α . . . . αλην αυλην ποιησαν ανακτι
σ . . . . κινδ̂ισι · θυρην δ εχε μουνος . . . .
ε . . . . ν τρ$^{\epsilon}$ις μεν επιρρήσεσκον αχαι . .
455 τ . . . . γ̣εσκον μεγαλην κληῖδα θυρ . . .
. . . . ιλλευς δ αρ επιρήσεσκε κα . . . . .
. . . . ας εριουν̣ιος ῶξε γεροντι
. . . . α δωρα ποδώκει πηλειων .
. . . . εβαινεν επι χθονα φωνησε . . .
460 ω̣ γ̣ε̣ . ο̣ν̣ . τ̣ο̣ι εγω θεος αμβροτος ειλήλου . .

---

440 is omitted.

450 κερσαντες: the ρ has apparently been rubbed and re-written.

454 τρεις: the ε is added by the second hand.

ερμειας· σοι γαρ̣ με πατηρ αμα πομπον οπασ̣ . . .
αλλ ητοι μεν εγω παλιν εισομαι υυδ αχιλληος
οφθαλμους εισειμι · νεμεσσητον δε κεν ε̣ . .
αθανατον θεον ωδε βροτους αγαπαζεμ . . . . . .
465 τυνη δ εισελθων λαβε γουνατα πηλειων . .
και μιν υπερ πατρος και μητερος ηυκομ̣οι .
λισσεο και τεκεος ἱν^{α} δ̔ι συν θυμον ορίνηις
ως αρα φωνησας απεβη‘ προς μακρον ολυμπον̣
ερμειας· πριαμος δ εξ ιππων αλτο χαμαζε·
470 ιδâιον δε κατ αυθι λίπεν̣· ο δέ μιμνεν ερυκω̣ .
ιππους ημιονους τε̣· γ . . ων δ ιθυς κιεν οικου
τηι ρ αχιλλευς ιζε̣σ̣κε δι . φ̣ιλος · εν δε μιν αυτο̣.
ἑ͂υρ· εταροι δ απαν̣ευθε καθείατο · τῶι δε δυ οιω̣
ηρως αυτομεδων τε και α̣ . κιμος οζος αρηος
475 πόιπνυον παρεοντε· νεο̣ν δ απεληγεν εδωδης
εσθων και πεινων· ετι και παρεκειτο τραπε . .
τους δ ελαθ εισελθων π . . αμος μεγας αγχι δ αρα . . . .
χερσιν αχιλληος λαβε . . . νατα και κυσε χειρας
δεινας ανδροφονους . . οι πολεας κτανον υιας̣

col. 36] Lines 480–489 are wanting.

490 αλλ η . . . . ω̣ν̣
χαιρει . . . . α παντα
οψεσ . . . . ρ . . . . ντα
αυτα . . . . ς · ε . . . . νι . . . .

---

467 ινα: the α and the breathings on this and the next word are added above in very faint ink.

468 απεβη: an ι is added at the end above the line, in a different hand.

472 The ρ has been inserted as an afterthought, but by the original hand.

476 πεινων: the ε is struck out by the corrector.

τροι . . . . δ ου . . . .
πε . . . . τ ηλυ̣ . . . .
. ν . . . . ῆς ε . . . .
. . . . ν εν̣ . . . .
. . . . α̣ρης . . . .
. . . . ος . . ν̣ ε· . . . . ο δε α̣ . . . .
. . . . ν κ̣ . ειν . . . μυνο . . . . ης
. . . ορα . ο̣υ νυν εινεκ ικα . . . .
λ . . . μενος π̣ . . . σε͡ιο· φερω̣ . . . .
αλλ . . δειο θεους αχιλλευ α . . . .
. . . . αμενος σο͂υ πατρος· ε . . . . ε̣ρ·
ε̣ . λην δ ο͂ι ου πω τις επιχθ . . . .
ανδρος παιδοφονοιο ποτι . . . .
. ς φατ̣ο̣ τωι δ αρα π̣ . τρ̣ος υ̣ . . . .
. . α̣μενος δ αρα χ . . . ο̣ς απ . . . .
. . . . . νησαμενω ο μεν εκ̣ . . . .
. . . . να· προπάροιθε ποδ . . . .
. . . . ιλλευς κλαιεν εον π . . . .
. . . . . κ̣λ̣ . ν̣· των δε στεναχ̣ . . . .
α̣υ̣ταρ επ̣ε̣ . ρα γοοιο τεταρπ . . . .
και οι απο πραπιδων ηλθ ιμ . . . .
αυτικα δ εκ θρονου ωρτο · γερ . . . .
οικτειρων̣ πολιον τε καρη π . . . .
και μιν φωνησας επεα πτερο . . . .
α̂ δειλ· η δη πολλα κακ άσχεο . . . .
[πως ετλης επι νηας αχαιων ε . . . .

519, 520 These two lines were originally omitted, and are added at the foot of the column in the black ink of the later hand.

520 *ανδρος ες οφθαλμους ὁς τοι πο . . . . ς]*

col. 37] 521–535 are wanting.

536 *ο* —

κα —

αλλ —

π̣α̣ιδ —

540 *. λλ ε* —

. ηρα —

. μα —

. αὶ σ —

≻ *οσ* —

545 *κα* —

τῶ —

αυ —

α̣ι̣ε̣ —

Lines 549–558 are wanting.

559 *το* —

. ηκε —

. κτορ —

μητηρ —

col. 38] *και δε σε γινωσκω πρι̣ . . . φρε̣ . . . ο̣υ . . . ε̣ ληθεις*

οττι θεων τις σ ῆγε θοας επι ν . ας αχαιων·

565 *ου γαρ κεν τλαιἡ βροτος ελθ̣ . . ε̣ν̣ ου . . μαλ ηβῶν*

ες στρατον· ο̣υτε γαρ αν φ̣υλὰκους λάθοι ουδέ τ οχῆας·

ρεια μετοχλίσσειε π̣υλᾱων ημ̣ε̣τερᾱων

---

565 *τλαιηι*: the final *ι* is added in a different hand.

566 *τ οχηας*: something is written in different ink above the space between the *τ* and *ο*, but it does not appear to be a *κ*.

των^{νν} μη μοι μαλλον εν αλγεσι θ . μ̣ο̣ν ορε̣ .. νηις
. . . . . ερον ουδ αυτον εν κλισ . ʹησιν εασω
570 . . . . ν περ εοντα διος δ αλιτωμαι εφετμας·
. . . . γησεν δ ο γερων και̣ ε̣π̣ειθετο μυθωι·
. . . . δ οικοιο λεων ως . . το θύραζε
. . . . ωι γε δυω θεραποντες εποντο
. . . . ν ηδ αλκιμος ὂυς ρα μαλιστα
575 . . . . ετα πατρ . κλον γε θανο . . .
. . . . ιππους ημιονους τε
. . . . κα καλη . . . α τôιο γεροντος
. . . . ν̣ ευ . . . . . . δ̣ α̣πο π̣ . . . .
. . . . λῆ . . . .

Lines 580—595 are wanting.

. . . . . ι ες κλισ . . . .
. . . . . δ̣ ε̣ν̣ κ̣λ̣ . . . . εστη
. . . . . . του ετερο̣ . . . . υθον
. . . . μεν δη τοι λ . . . . ς
600 . . . τ̣αι δ εν λεχε . . . .
. . . . . αυτος αγω . . . .
col. 39] και γα . . ηυκ . . . . . ιοβη εμνησατ . . . . . .
τηι περ . . . . α̣ιδες ενι μ̣ . . . .
εξ μεν θυγα̣τ̣ε̣ρ̣ες εξ δ υιεες . . . .
605 τους μεν απ . λ̣λων πεφυνεν απ αργυ̣ρ̣ε̣ο̣ι̣ο̣ . . . .
χωόμενο . . ι̣ο̣β̣ηι τας δ αρτεμι̣ς̣ ι̣ο̣χ̣εαι . .
ο̣υ̣ν̣ε̣ . . . . λ . . . ι ι̣σάσκετο καλλιπαρηωι
. . . . ν̣· η δ αυτη γ^{ε}ινατο πολ̣ . . . .

568 τω νυν: the letters νν are added above the line in cursive characters, resembling those of the scholia.

608 γειναρο: the ε is added in the cursive hand of the corrector.

. . . . ουτ απο παντας ολ . . . . .
610 . . . . εατ εν φονωι· ουδ . . . .
. . . . ους ποιησε κρ̣ονι̣ων

Lines 612—630 are wanting.

631 . υταρ ο δαρ̣ . . . .
. . . οροων ο . . . . μυθ̣ο . . . .
. . . . . . π . . . . ληλους ο . . . .
. . . . ο̣ς προσ . . . . . . ερων πρια . . . .
635 . . . . με ταχισ . . . . . ρεφ̣ες οφ . . . .
υπνωι̣ υπο γ̣λυκερω . . . .
ου γαρ πω μύ . . ν ὄσσε . . . .
ε̣ξ ου σ$\overset{ι}{ῆ}$ς· ὕπο χερσ̣ι̣ . . . .
αλλ αιει στεναχω . . . .
640 α̣υλης ε . χόρτοι . . . .
col. 40] . . . . κ̣α̣ι̣ σ$\overset{ε}{ϊ}$του π̣α̣σ̣α̣μην και αιθοπα οινον
. . . . κα· π̣α̣ρος γε μεν ου τι πεπασμην
. . . . ς δ . . . ροισιν ιδε δμω$\overset{ι}{ῆ}$ισι κελευσε
. . . . θ . υσσ̣η̣ι θέμεναι και ρηγεα κᾱλα
645 . . . . ρ̣ε̣ ε̣μ̣ . αλε . . . σ̣τορέσαί τ εφυπερθε ταπητας·
. . . . εμεναι ούλᾱς καθυπερθεν εσ$\overset{α}{ε}$σθ . .
. . . . εκ μεγαροιο δάος μετα χερσ̣ιν εχ . . . . .
. . . . εστορεσαν $\overset{οι}{δ}$υω λεχε ενκ$\overset{ο}{α}$ν . . . . . .
. . . . . π̣ι̣κερ̣τομεων π̣ . οσεφ$\overset{ι}{η}$ ποδ̣ . . . .

---

638 σηις: the ι is added in a different hand.

641 σιτου: the alteration is made by the corrector.

643 δμωιησι: the added ι is probably in a different hand.

646 εσασθαι: the correction is in a different hand.

648 Both corrections are in the second hand.

649 προσιφη: a superfluous ι is added above the line in a different hand.

650 . . . . . μ̣εν δη λέξ̣ . γ̣ . . ο̣ν φιλε μ . . . .
. . . . . επελθη . . . . ληφορος· . . . .
. . . . α̣ς βου̣λ̣ε . . . . ενοι . . . .
. . . . ι̣ τις σ̣ . . . .
. . . . κ αν̣ . . . .
655 . . . . . ν αν . . . .
. . . . . ε μ . . . .
. . . . . μ . . . .

Lines 658—670 are wanting.

671 . ς . . . . γερο . . . .
ελλ̣α̣ . . . . ει ενι . . . . .
οι μεν α̣ . . . . οθι κ . . . .
κηρυξ . . . . μηδε̣ ε̣ . . . .
675 αυταρ αχ̣ . . . . η̣ς ευπη . . . .
τῶι $\overset{αρ}{δε}$ . . . . λλιπαρη . . .
αλλοι . . . . πoκορυ . . . .
$\overset{ε}{η}$υδ . . . . μ̣ημεν . . . .
αλλ ο . . . . ριου̣νιον υ̣π̣ . . . . μαρπτ . .
col. 41] . . . . θυμον̣ ο̣π̣ . . . . . . μ̣ον βασιληα
681 . . . . ειε . . . ω . . . . πυλαουρους·
. . . . α̣ι̣ μιν . . . . μυθον εειπεν·
. . . . ει κακο̣ . δ̣ιον εθ ευδεις
. . . . έι σ έιασ . ν αχι . λευς·
685 . . . . λυσαο· π . λ̣λα δ̣ ε̣δωκας·

650 There is space for more than one letter between λεξ and γερον, and there are remains of an erased letter, apparently a ν, just before the initial γ of the latter word.

676 δε is changed to δαρ by the corrector.

678 ευδον: the correction is in the second hand.

. . . . τοσ̣α̣ δ . . ε̣ν απ̣ο̣ινα
. . . . ιμμε . . ι αι $\overset{κ}{γ}$ . . αμεμνων
. . . . δε πα . . ες αχ̣α̣ι̣οι·
. . . . ων κη . . . α δ ανἴστη.
690 . . . . ους . . . ο̣νους̣ . .
. . . . ε̣ κα . . . . . . τον· ουδε τ . . . . . .
692 . . . . ν ε̣υρρεῖο̣ . . . ταμοιο·
694 . . . . β̣η^{ι} προς̣ . . . . . ν ολυ . . . .
. . . δε . . ο . . . . εκ̣ιδνατο . . . .
. . . εις α . . υ ε . . . . ιμ̣ωγ . . . . στ . . . .
. . . ους· ημιονοι δε νεκ̣υν αγον· ο . . . .
. . . ω πρόσθ ανδρων καλλιζώνω . . . .
. . . αρα κασσανδ̣ . η ικέλη χρυσῆι . . . .
700 . . . γαμον εισαναβᾶσα φίλον πατε . . . .
. . . α̣οτ εν δ̣ι̣φ̣ . ωι κηρυκα τε αστυ . . . . . .
. . . δ αρ̣ ε . . . . . ν̣ων ιδε κ̣ειμενον εν̣ . . . .
. . . . πειτα· γέγωνε δε παν κα . . . . . .
. . . . αι τρωάδες εκτορ̣α διο̣ .
705 . . . . τι μαχης εκ νοστησα . . .
. . . . χάρμα πόλει τ ην π̣αν . . . .
. . . . η τις ενι π . ολει λειπετ . . . .
. . . . α̣ς̣ γ̣αρ αασχετ̣ον ικετο π . . . . .
. . . . ξυμβλ . . . . πυλαων ν̣ε̣ . . . . αγο . . .
710 . . . . ν γ αλο . . . . ε φιλη κ̣α̣ι ποτνια μη . . .

---

689 The breathing above the ι in ανιστη is doubtful, but appears to be smooth.

693 is omitted.

694 [απε]βη: a superfluous ι is added above the line in a different hand.

699 χρυσηι: the circumflex over the η may perhaps be an ε instead.

707 λειπετ: the first ε is struck out by the corrector.

. . . . επ άμ . . . ν εύτροχο̣ν̣ ᾱιξ . . α̣ι̣
. . . . κεφα̣ . . ς· κλάιων δ α . . . .
. . . . πρόπ . ν ῆμα. ες ηελιο . . . .
. . . . α̣κρυχεοντες οδῡροντο π̣ . . . .
715 . . . . διφ̣ροιο γερων λαοισι μετη . . .
. . . . ουρε̣ῦσι διελθεμεν· αυταρ . . . . . .
. . . . υθ . . ο . ο επὴν α̣γάγοιμι δομ . . δε
. . . . ε̣ δι̣εστησαν και εῖξαν απ . νηι·
. . . . ά . αγον κλυτα δωματα· τον μεν επειτα
720 . . . . ν λ . χεεσσι θέσαν παρα δ ἓισαν αοιδους
col. 42] . . . νους· εξάρχο̣ . . ὅι τε στονοεσσαν αοιδη.
. . . εν αρ εθρηνε . . επι δε . . εναχο̣ν̣ . . . .
. . . . ιν δ ανδρομαχ̣ . . . ευκ̣ . . . .
. . τορος ιπποδαμ̣ . . . .
725 . . . ρ απ αιῶνος νεο . . . .
. . . π̣εις εν μεγαρο . . . .
. . τ̣εκομεν σύ τ ε̣ . . . .
. . . . ιξεσθαι· π . . . .
. . . . γα . . . .

Lines 730–736 are wanting.

737 . . . . π̣ολλο . αχαιω̣.

721 At the top of the column is a scholium mutilated at both ends and in the middle. The following is only an approximate reading:

τον εκτορ[α] . . . . . π̣ι̣ . . π̣ . . ς β̄ εισιν ο̣υ̣κεσημ̣ ·
. λ̣ει τις και επι . . . . . . ως φιλιας εν τ̄ ᾱ των επ
λεψ α̣ν̣τ̣ιλεγει . . . . ω̣ς φησι βατων εν τ̄ πρωτηι
χρυ̣ . . υ

The proper name in the third line might be read *κατων*, but apparently the reference is to the rhetorician Baton.

. . . . ξ ελον άσπετ̣ . . . .

. . . . τεος εν δάϊ λυ . . . .

740 . . . . ται κατα αστυ·

. . . . ι πενθος εθη . . .

. . . . ε̣ιψεται α . γεα λ . . . .

. . . . ν εκ χε̣ῖ̣ρ̣ας . . . . . .

Lines 744–753 are wanting.

754 . . . . α̣η . . . .

. . . . ε̣ρ̣ι σ . . . .

. . . . το . . . ε . . . . . νέστ . . . .

. . . . ἕρσηις και προσφατος . . . . . α̣ροι̣σ̣ι

. . . . ικελος ον τ αργυροτοξος α̣ . . . . ων

759 . . . . ελεσσιν εποιχομενος . . . . πεφ . . .

Lines 760–804 are wanting.

F. G. KENYON.

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